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The Catholic Historical Review

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EUGENIUS IV AND THE CRUSADE OF VARNA

BY

THADDEUS V. TULEJA*

When the Venetian cardinal, Gabriele Condulmario, was elevated to the papal throne as Eugenius IV in 1431, the Turkish armies already had won supremacy in the Balkan peninsula and had destroyed the Hexamilion, the great rampart across the isthmus of Corinth built in 1415 by Theodore II, the Despot of Mistra. Constantinople, encircled and isolated, stood alone in the menacing shadow of its formidable foe. While the dangers to both the Byzantine capital and the countries of central and eastern Europe became increasingly alarming, the southern Slavs, already conquered by the Turks, sought deliverance from the Ottoman yoke through a strong Christian military effort which might accomplish what the crusade of Nicopolis in 1396 had failed to do.

Both Latins and Greeks were fully aware that a union of the Byzantine Church with Rome would have to precede any military assistance from the West. In 1431, John VIII Paleologus sent envoys first to Martin V, and after that Pope's death, to his successor, to discuss the holding of a council of union. The conflict which broke out between the Papacy and the Council of Basle, unfortunately, postponed these plans. After January, 1432, the Holy See and the council became bitter rivals in the struggle to win the confidence of the Greeks. Having received an embassy from Basle, the Byzantine emperor sent a letter to the council on October 15, 1433, expressing his satisfaction that the conclave favored a union of the churches which long before the Greeks had hoped to achieve.[1] However,

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[1] Odericus Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici* (Coloniae Agrippinae, Anno MDCXCIIII), 1433, n. 28.

unwilling to break off relations with the Holy See, the Basileus continued to exchange embassies and letters with Eugenius IV, who already had expressed his alarm over the Moslem advance.[2] But it was not until May, 1437, when the ecclesiastical body at Basle had become divided into two irreconcilable factions,[3] that the papal party was successful in winning the favor of the Greeks. Taking advantage of the disruption of unity at Basle, the Pope, on September 18, 1437, published the bull *Doctoris gentium,* in which he charged the council with utter sterility, ordered its removal to Ferrara—a city named by the Greeks—and allowed its members one more month to complete their negotiations with the Hussites.[4] Two months later the Greeks embarked in ships provided by Eugenius IV, and in the following month Cardinal Cesarini and his party, abandoning the anti-papal faction at Basle, made their way to Ferrara to meet the Greeks, arriving in early March, two months after the new council had formally been opened. After more than a year of discussion, during which time the council was moved to Florence, the major obstacle to the crusade was removed, when on July 6, 1439, the document setting forth the conditions of union was solemnly read in the cathedral of Florence.[5] But already in June the Pope was arranging to put both soldiers and ships at the disposal of the emperor for the protection of Constantinople, and designated certain banks at Venice, Genoa, and Florence to place in readiness the needed funds for the undertaking.[6]

Eugenius IV now was able to pursue a more definite policy against the Turks. He was quick to announce the union to the West, and on August 1 he invoked the aid of the faithful to contribute to the

[2] Cf. the Pope's letter to John II de Lusignan of Cyprus, *ibid.,* 1431, n. 35, and his letter to John of Castile concerning the Knights of St. John, *ibid.,* 1434, n. 19.

[3] Cf. Noël Valois, *Le pape et le concile* (Paris, 1909), II, 58 ff.

[4] The Hussite problem had been temporarily settled earlier by the Compacts of Prague, signed at Iglau on July 5, 1436, which reconciled Bohemia with the Roman Church.

[5] The most recent treatment of the Council of Florence, G. Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum,* 3 vols., (Rome, 1940-1946), was unfortunately not available for this study.

[6] At this time Eugenius IV also promised to pay for the return journey of the Greeks, and requested that certain ships scheduled to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, make their way instead to the Greek capital. Cf. G. Hofmann, "Die Konzilsarbeit in Florenz" (1372-1422), *Orientalia Christiana Periodica,* IV (1938), 393-394.

impending war with the Ottomans.[7] The papal appeal, however, was not destined to inspire the West. Neither England nor France was able to respond, since both countries had already begun the third phase of the Hundred Years' War. Moreover, France as well as Germany had never completely renounced its allegiance to the Basle council, although after that assembly elected the anti-pope, Felix V, France adopted a policy more favorable to Eugenius IV, while Germany, during the brief reign of Albert of Austria, assumed a position of neutrality. Besides the Republic of Venice,[8] Eugenius IV could claim the support of only one powerful western ruler, Philip II, Duke of Burgundy, who had supported the Pope in his struggle with the Council of Basle,[9] and was the only western ruler to send delegates to the assembly at Ferrara.[10]

Unwilling to postpone preparations for the crusade, the Pope wrote to the Doge of Venice in the summer of 1439 concerning the fleet which the Venetians earlier had promised to send to the Byzantine emperor.[11] On October 5 he submitted to John VIII Paleologus a preliminary plan for the defense of Constantinople, in which he proposed to send to the Byzantine capital during March of the next year, ten fully-armed galleys to remain for one year, or, if it seemed more useful, twenty galleys for a period of six months. In addition to this, the Pope proposed to send 300 archers to supplement the military strength of the city until a naval expedition could be organized, and would send money every month for

[7] Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1439, n. 9.

[8] The Venetians had already sent in 1427 an ambassador to Sigismund to discuss the war against the Turks. Cf. *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, 43 vols. ed. by Simeon Ljubić, (Zagreb, 1868-1918), XXI, 21.

[9] On July 7, 1439, the duke addressed a letter from St. Omar to the various officials of Burgundy, Mâcon, and Auxerre in which he renewed his opposition to the Council of Basle. The text of this letter from the Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit at Utrecht is cited by Joseph Toussaint, *Les relations diplomatiques de Philippe le bon avec le concile de Bâle (1431-1449)*, (Louvain, 1942), pp. 264-265.

[10] The Burgundian delegation consisted of three bishops and the Abbot-General of Citeaux. Cf. G. Hofmann, "Die Konzilsarbeit in Ferrara", (403-455), in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, III, (1937), 447.

[11] N. Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle*, 6 vols., (Paris, 1899-1902), II, 364.

one year for their maintenance.[12] He also expressed the hope that he might successfully urge Albert of Austria to lead a land army personally against the Turks. However, Albert, who already had unsuccessfully opposed the Turks with military force, was never to lead a western crusade against them. His untimely death on October 27 left Eugenius IV without a leader for the land army.

Unable to depend upon the West, the Pope turned to the East for support, believing that Turkish pressure in the Balkans would give him allies from that region. Five years before the Union of Florence, in the midst of the conciliar struggle, Eugenius IV had exhorted the Christian nations to aid the people of Albania who were then about to undertake an expedition against their Ottoman overlords.[13] Now, having failed to awaken the West to the Turkish menace, he hoped to win the support of both Poland and Hungary. These aims were the more likely to materialize since the Polish king, Ladislas, received the throne of Hungary in 1440, one year after the death of Albert of Austria. But Elizabeth of Luxemburg, Albert's widow, after giving birth to her posthumous son, was resolved to secure all of his paternal heritage for him, and as a result, Hungary was torn by civil war for two years between the King of Poland and the Hapsburg partisans.

Since this new problem might seriously interfere with the crusade, it was imperative that the civil war be brought to an end as quickly as possible. The Pope, therefore, empowered the Bishops of Tarento and Segna, in February, 1440, to seek a solution to the dispute in Hungary,[14] and later he sent the experienced Cardinal Cesarini

[12] Et si forte ex aliqua causa terrestris exercitus fieri non posset, nihilominus omittente necessitate, et te hoc requirente, praedictas galeas armari, et ad partes Constantinopolitanas, mitti faciemus. Solvemus etiam trecentis ballistariis pro tuitione civitatis Constantinopolitanae a die, quo applicueris Constantinopolim, usquequo fiat praedicta navalis expeditio, mensuatimque ordinabimus, pro uno anno pecunias apud Constantinopolim, ut pro stipendio ipsis ballistariis debito valeat satisfieri. Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1439, n. 10. These proposals were the same as those made by Eugenius IV in June, 1439.

[13] Since 1423 John Castriota and Arianite (Araniti) had recognized Turkish overlordship. In 1432 Andrew Thopia, who earlier had governed Albania, inflicted a defeat upon the Turks. Afterwards the Albanian leaders won several other victories over the Ottomans, and received encouragement from Sigismund, who sent them two ambassadors. Cf. A. Gegaj, *L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au xv^e siècle* (Louvain, 1937), pp. 51-52.

[14] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* II, 367.

on the same mission to restore peace "inter principes Hungariae et Poloniae." [15] But there was a similar motive in Poland for concluding the struggle with the Hapsburgs. The Bishop of Cracow, Zbigniew Olesnicki, who had strongly supported the accession of Ladislas to the Hungarian throne, had also planned that the Polish monarch should lead a new crusade, deliver the southern Slavs from Turkish overlordship, and ensure the survival of the Byzantine Empire. This far-reaching project, unfortunately, was never to be enhanced by the co-operation of the bishop with the Holy See, since Olesnicki remained implacably attached to the extreme limits of the doctrine of conciliar supremacy. Therefore, he abandoned the project after a compromise was concluded with the Hapsburgs under the auspices of a papal legate of Eugenius IV. Besides, the acceptance of the Hungarian crown in 1440 in view of the coming crusade did not win for Ladislas the unanimous approval of the Polish nobility. The party which had been led by Olesnicki was opposed by another party whose adherents, unwilling to sacrifice life and money, insisted that the proper place for the Polish king was in Poland.[16]

Moreover, the political discord in Hungary, besides delaying the preparation of the crusade, made that country more vulnerable to an attack by the Turks, who, as early as July of the preceding year, had opposed the weak forces of Albert. The report at that time of a Christian victory over the Sultan did not correspond with the truth, since Murad II was able easily to besiege Semendria and to capture the city on August 27, 1439—almost under the eyes of the Hungarian king whose few thousand soldiers showed no desire to renew the exploits of Golubac,[17] which had now become a strong Turkish fortress.[18] After the death of Albert, the sultan hoped

[15] Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1443, n. 16. Cf. also Jan Dlugosz, *Historiae Polonicae* in *Opera omnia*, 14 vols., cura et impensis Alexandri Przezdziecki (Cracoviae, 1863-1887), XIII, 686.

[16] For a brief discussion of these opposing ideas, cf. Jan Dąbrowski, "La Pologne et l'expédition de Varna en 1444," *Revue des études slaves*, X (1930), 57-75, which is an adequate summary of his earlier work, *Władysław Jagiellończyk na Węgrzech (1440-1444)*, (Warsaw, 1922).

[17] A stronghold of strategic importance where Zawisza Czarny lost his life while commanding the auxiliary Polish forces under Sigismund of Luxemburg in 1428. Cf. Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 355.

[18] N. Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches* (5 vols., Gotha, 1908-1913), I, 423.

to profit by the revolt in Hungary to lay siege to Belgrade.[19] Two years later, believing that Hungary was seriously weakened by the war at home, Murad II sent envoys to Buda at the instigation of Mathko, the Ban of Dalmatia and Croatia, who led the Turks to believe they would receive as the price of peace either the castle of Albanor on the Sava or some equivalent tribute.[20] Simultaneously, the Voivode of Transylvania, John Hunyadi, whom Ladislas in 1440 made a commander of the crusade,[21] sent word to the king "veloci nuntio" that he had just won two important victories over the Turks. The news arrived at the very moment when the Turkish peace proposals were being made.[22] Quite naturally, this unexpected news deprived the Turkish embassy of all hope of success.

Ladislas, realizing how much the news of these victories would mean to the Venetians whose contribution to the war effort had been limited to the shipment of a quantity of powder to Mathko in Sebenico,[23] sent a letter to Venice advising the republic of the "triumphant victory" won by the Christians in Hungary against the Turks. Immediately the senate decreed that a solemn procession to celebrate the event should take place in the piazza before the Church of St. Mark in which the doge, the clergy, and the nobles would participate.[24]

Venice received appeals also from the Holy See, Cardinal Cesarini, who was negotiating with the republic for the crusading fleet, received a letter from the Venetians on August 8, 1442, in which they professed their zeal for the crusade, and explained that already they had gone to some expense in preparing the required ships and were now only waiting for money from the Pope to arm them. They pleaded that without money they could do nothing.[25]

Eugenius IV meanwhile continued his efforts to meet the growing

[19] Zuanne of Aurana (Zouannus of Ragusa) brother of Mathko, Ban of Dalmatia and Croatia, held the city, forcing the Turks to raise the siege. Cf. the "Estratto dagli annali Veneti conservati nella biblioteca di corte a Vienna," *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, VI, 1.

[20] Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 681.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 662.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 681.

[23] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, III, 100-101. Cf. also his *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, 429.

[24] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, III, 105.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

need of funds to pay for the fleet. On July 28, 1442, he granted indulgences to those who would visit the Church of St. Mary of Eton near Windsor on the feast of the Assumption and contribute money for the war against the Turks. The fourth part of the proceeds was to be used for the upkeep and repair of the church there, while the remainder would be spent for the defense of Constantinople and the island of Rhodes,[26] then under attack by the Turks.[27]

Toward the end of 1442 Cardinal Cesarini successfully arranged a provisional agreement between the Jagiellonian and the Hapsburg interests in Hungary. In that same year the Greeks, who were still waiting for aid, sent an envoy, Janachi Torcello, to Venice to remind the West of its promised help to the Byzantine Empire.[28] On January 1, 1443, Eugenius IV issued an encyclical letter[29] setting forth for the first time tangible plans for the crusade. Describing the Turkish conquests in the East, he reminded the Christian nations of the recent union of the churches, pleading with the West not to desert the Byzantines who were defending the eastern bastion of Christendom, nor the Moreote Greeks whose Despot Theodore already had requested western help to prevent the Morea from falling into Turkish hands. He also repeated his earlier anxiety over the security of Rhodes, alarmed that the island might soon fall prey to the increasing threats of the "soldanus Babyloniae" and meet the fate of Cyprus, which already was in servitude to the Sultan. To aid Cesarini in organizing military forces, he instructed Bishop Christopher of Corona to preach the crusade in Moldavia, Lithuania, Wallachia, and Albania, urging all the leaders of these regions to unite and wage war against their common enemy. Besides requiring all archbishops, bishops, and abbots, beginning from Easter, to pay a tithe of one-tenth of all their revenues for

[26] Rhodes held a special fascination for the Pope. In his encyclical letter of December, 1434, he exhorted the Christian rulers, especially those powerful on the sea, to bring aid to Rhodes against the "soldanus Babyloniae," who he believed was preparing a great fleet to capture the island. Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1434, n. 19. Cf. also J. Delaville le Roulx, *Les archives, la bibliothèque et le trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte* (Paris, 1883), p. 29.

[27] Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, 392. Cf. also W. E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1934), II, 465-466.

[28] Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, 428.

[29] *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, a letter remarkable in its great length and moving supplication. Cf. Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1443, n. 14-19.

the crusade, the Pope declared he would give a good example to all Christendom by putting aside one-fifth of the revenues of the apostolic camera for the same purpose.

This initiative was strong enough to persuade the Venetians to put aside temporarily their cautious, self-interested policy. On April 13, 1443, they wrote to Eugenius IV that they were prepared to offer some of their own ships for the crusade.[30] The Pope was also able to count upon the support of his powerful ally, Philip, the Duke of Burgundy, whose naval contribution to the crusade the Venetian senate was discussing on May 10.[31]

By the spring of 1443 the most serious obstacles to the crusade had been removed. At the same time a second Byzantine ambassador, Andromen Jagaris, arrived in the West to inquire about the fleet. The Pope was able to announce that work on the galleys had already begun, and that he was sending to Greece, Cardinal Francis of St. Clement as papal nuncio who would fully inform the emperor of the progress being made.[32] On July 6, he sent a second message, informing the Greek emperor that a report was being forwarded to him concerning measures taken by the Holy See "in materia . . . apparatus classis adversus Teucros."[33] Meanwhile Cardinal Cesarini, who had made it possible for the Polish king to lead the crusade by restoring peace in Hungary, successfully mustered a crusading army composed of Hungarians, Poles, Wallachians, and Serbs.[34] In June, under the command of Ladislas and Hunyadi, the army set out, accompanied by the cardinal legate and George Brankovich, the fugitive Despot of Serbia. Passing through Serbia, the army met the Turkish forces at Nisch on November 3 and inflicted on them a humiliating defeat. From there Ladislas and Hunyadi led their

[30] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 121.

[31] At this time the Venetians wrote to Leonardo Venier, their ambassador to the Holy See, that more than 20,000 ducats were needed for the preparation of the ten "corpora galearum", which Venice planned to make ready for the crusade; and the vessels requested by the Duke of Burgundy would increase their expense. *Ibid.,* p. 125.

[32] Raynaldus, *op. cit.,* 1443, n. 22.

[33] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* II, 397.

[34] Poland dropped much of her earlier interest in the crusade after the loss of so much time and money during the civil war in Hungary. Ladislas, by his personal efforts, obtained some monetary contributions and a few volunteers from Poland, and was able to rely upon the loyalty of a group of Polish knights who had remained attached to their king's cause. Cf. Dąbrowski, *op. cit.,* pp. 60-68.

forces to Sofia and thence to Zlatica, where they halted. By this time winter had already set in and the king decided to return to Buda to continue the war the following year.[35]

The victorious campaign had been conducted without the aid of the fleet which was still being prepared at Venice. On May 25 the Venetians, writing to their ambassador, Leonardo Venier, expressed astonishment that the Pope requested only six ships for the crusade. The republic wished Eugenius IV to be advised that experience had demonstrated the need of no less than ten armed vessels in the straits to prevent Turkish forces from crossing into Europe from Asia Minor.[36] Two weeks before the Venetians had evaluated the problem differently, declaring at that time that it would be necessary to send sixteen to twenty ships to the East for the intended purpose, and suggesting an extra ship to carry food and munitions.[37] At the same time the senate complained that the tithe imposed upon the Florentine and Venetian clergy was not equitable, placing a more than just portion of the expenses upon them, and, therefore, it ought to be extended to the clergy of other states, since it was necessary to raise money without delay.[38] Such charges, however, were without any justification. The crusading tithe had, indeed, been applied universally. The Venetians themselves had sought to benefit financially from the crusade, while at the same time regarding the whole expedition as a convenient means to protect their private interests. At the given moment when they chose to protest against their heavy monetary burdens, they were informing Venier that the ships to be sent to the "gulf" were necessary to guard the republic's possessions there.[39]

The setting out of the campaign in 1443 attracted the interest of several potential allies, among whom were the Albanian leader Scanderbeg, and Alfonso of Aragon, who was in a position to learn of the movements of Turkish forces in the Balkans from the ambassa-

[35] Dlugosz, *op cit.*, XIII, 686.

[36] The original mission of the fleet was to prevent Turkish reinforcements from reaching Murad II. It could not have been known in the spring of 1443 that the sultan intended to move his forces in Europe to Caramania to crush the revolt there, since he did not make this decision until the following year.

[37] They added, moreover: "sed fundamentum fieri debet in XX, ut cum securitate res fieri valeat". Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, III, 125.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 128.

[39] *Ibid.*

dors sent to his court by the Despot of Serbia.[40] As the crusading army began its march through Serbia, even the Doge of Genoa, on June 12, 1443, expressed his hope that he would be able to induce his government to support the crusade. Several days later, the doge informed the Pope that he was sending Domenic d'Allegro to him to discuss the arming at Genoa of two galleys for the Church.[41] However, since it was not likely that the Genoese could successfully engage in an enterprise side by side with the Venetians, their traditional maritime rivals, it was not surprising the promised assistance was soon withdrawn. On October 26, Eugenius IV was asked to excuse the Genoese clergy from giving their contribution for the expedition. They pleaded that already they had been deprived of one-third of their revenue as a result of the recent famine at Genoa, and of the levying of some taxes for the security of the state.[42] Similarly, the promised support of Alfonso to provide several ships[43] for the war against the Turks was never fulfilled.

In the meantime the Republic of St. Mark continued to pursue its cautious policy. Almost two months before the Christian army defeated the Turks at Nisch, the Venetians, answering the Pope's request for certain sums owed him, had replied that the Pontiff was the debtor. Venice had already prepared the ten "corpora galearum" at a great expense and only awaited the additional money necessary for arming them.[44] This statement, made on September 10, 1443, is almost identical with the one which the Venetian senate included in a similar letter to Cardinal Cesarini more than a year before.[45] During the intervening months the Venetians did nothing to arm the vessels, an inaction largely decided by their distrust of the crusading tithe as a means of raising funds. They also informed the apostolic delegate that they wanted the money collected for the fleet to be deposited, not with some bank as the Pope requested, but with the procurator at Venice.[46]

[40] C. Marinescu, *Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon et de Naples, et l'Albanie de Scanderbeg* (Paris, 1923), p. 24.

[41] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 131-132.

[42] *Ibid.,* p. 141.

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 138.

[44] *Ibid.*

[45] *Ibid.,* p. 100.

[46] *Ibid.,* p. 138.

The attitude of Venice, which had prevented the Holy See from fully relying upon her participation in the crusade, was modified in January, 1444, when the news of the Christian victory at Nisch reached the West. At that time, the Venetian senate voted to congratulate the King of Poland, Cardinal Cesarini, and John Hunyadi upon their victories over the Turks, and prepared to send a secretary to the king to discuss the war.[47] In replying in March to the letters of the Duke of Burgundy written the previous month, the Venetians informed Philip that the Burgundian envoys had found their four galleys ready when they arrived, and that the papal contingent of ten "corpora galearum," about which the duke also made an inquiry, while still unarmed, would soon be made ready. They also announced their readiness to offer for the crusade some of their own ships then at sea near Gallipoli, provided there would be a land army to collaborate with the fleet.[48]

Eugenius IV likewise understood that, without strict co-operation between the land and naval forces, only transient gains could be made. In 1443, before the army set out on its first campaign, the Pope through his legate, Cesarini, promised financial subsidies to Ladislas.[49] Now in March, 1444, with part of the fleet in readiness, Eugenius IV issued instructions to the papal collector, Andrea de Palatio, to give to King Ladislas or his representative, all individual sums of money to be collected "de denario B. Petri" within the next two years, both in the Kingdom of Poland and its possessions, to defray the expenses of the expedition.[50] In May the Pope wrote again to the papal collector, impressing upon him the need of consummating the victories already won by Ladislas by closing the straits. But the expenses for the fleet were so great that, even should all the taxes of the Church be used, the cost would still exceed its capacity to pay.[51] It is, therefore, clear why the financial aid for which Ladislas undoubtedly could have found immediate use was postponed for the future.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 146.

[48] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

[49] Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

[50] Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1444, n. 1.

[51] Sed tanta est ejus classis expensa, ut licet decimae multarum civitatum et dioecesum, licet multorum principum auxilia adhibeantur, licet omnes aerarii ecclesiae pecunias exponamus, nostras exsuperet vires cogamurque alia quotquot possumus auxilia a bonis et devotis Ecclesiae filiis exposcere, etc. *Ibid.*, n. 2.

Meanwhile the participation of Venice in the proposed campaign was still not entirely certain. Thus the Turks were in a rather favorable position to propose terms of peace to the Christian leaders. In January, 1444, while Ladislas was still in Serbia with his army, a Turkish emissary appeared to arrange for the future arrival of a Turkish embassy to discuss the possibility of a peace treaty. It was already agreed that any peace to be decided upon would have to provide, among other things,[52] that Serbia, held by the Turks, must be restored to George Brankovich, and that his sons, held as hostages by the sultan, must be released. The next month, the Polish king returned to Buda. In March, Brankovich received an emissary, a Greek monk, sent to him by his daughter who was married to the sultan. Through an intermediary, the emissary was able to place before the Hungarian Diet at Buda in April the sultan's offer which, from the Serbian side, was regarded as acceptable.[53]

The king was, therefore, forced to weigh the uncertain advantages of a peace treaty with the Turks against the prospects of a second expedition into Turkish-held territory in the Balkans. Without the co-operation of a fleet in the straits, the Christian leaders could not hope to gain any more important advantages than they had already won in 1443. The congratulatory message sent to Ladislas by the Venetian senate when the Turkish embassy was arriving in Serbia could have given the king little encouragement, since the papal contingent of the fleet was still unarmed. Not until May 12 did the Republic of St. Mark advise its ambassador, John de Reguardati, at Buda, that the papal vessels would soon be ready.[54] But the Venetians were still not satisfied with the state of affairs when on May 25, after enumerating the sacrifices they had already made for the crusade, they believed they had a right to criticize the conduct of the Pope who was using the money collected from the crusading tithe for other purposes "in gentibus armigeris et aliis rebus."[55]

[52] Vlad Drakul, the Voivode of Wallachia, was to be released from making personal appearances at the sultan's court while remaining a tributary to Murad II.

[53] O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna. A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York, 1943), p. 13 ff.

[54] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 167.

[55] *Ibid.,* p. 169.

At this moment, however, a far more serious obstacle to the crusade was developing in Adrianople. Being unable to depend with certainty upon the fleet, and without having received substantial assistance from the Pope whose resources were being exhausted by Venetian demands, Ladislas tentatively decided upon a different course of action. The king must have realized, as did the other Christian leaders, that his great military successes against the Turks in 1443 gave him a decided advantage in any future dealings with them. Moreover, it was precisely the threat of a second expedition which prompted Murad II to make proposals of peace to the king. The revolt of the Emir of Caramania made it necessary for the Turks to leave Europe as quickly as possible to crush the rebellion, which explains their anxiety to immobilize the Christian armies by a peace treaty. Under such circumstances, it was quite natural that the Christian leaders should wish to explore the possible advantages that might be gained from the prevailing situation without actually having to undertake a second expedition. Under the influence of Hunyadi and Brankovich, the king decided to send a representative, Stojka Gisdanich, an almost unknown person of Serb descent, to the Turkish capital at Adrianople. He gave him a document dated April 24 containing a request that whatever was agreed upon during the negotiations should be sworn to by the sultan, who, in turn, was to send a solemn Turkish embassy to Hungary to take the oath from the king.[56] Although he was interested in learning what advantages he might win from the Turks, Ladislas was all the more eager to discover the motives behind the Turkish peace proposals. Had the king been prepared in advance to make peace with the Turks, he would certainly have exercised greater care in selecting his representative, as did the Despot of Serbia, Brankovich, who delegated his highest dignitaries. Moreover, the king was not even apprised of the terms being discussed at the Turkish capital, since the negotiations were being conducted by Brankovich and Hunyadi

[56] Halecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16, 32 ff., and 85. This work establishes the historicity of facts hitherto entirely unknown, presents invaluable examples of Turkish diplomacy, and completely destroys the traditional interpretation of the Varna crusade. It is based upon documents recently discovered by a Rumanian scholar, Francis Pall, who used them in his work, *Ciriaco d'Ancona e la crociata contro i Turchi* (Valenii de Munte, 1937), but who failed to perceive their real value.

without royal consultation.[57] The position of the despot is quite understandable. His contribution of over 8,000 men[58] to the campaign the previous year had not brought him a permanent recovery of Serbia. The Turkish offer voluntarily to restore to him his possessions with their most important towns, and to liberate his sons, was a sufficiently strong inducement for Brankovich to favor the ratification of a treaty based upon such terms. The minor concessions which the sultan had to make did not prevent him from giving his oath in June to remain at peace for ten years. The position of Hunyadi, because he was an implacable enemy of the Turks, can be explained only on tactical grounds. He could not be expected to urge Ladislas to ratify a treaty which scarcely gave any advantage to Poland or Hungary. In opening negotiations with the Turks, he was able to convince Murad II that he could now move his forces to the Asiatic side of the straits, which the sultan finally did on July 12.[59] But even before the sultan undertook this move, the Polish king made his position perfectly clear. On July 2 he wrote to the Florentines expressing his intention to continue the war against the Turks.[60] On July 24 he asserted to the King of Bosnia that he was about to undertake the destruction of the accursed Turks.[61]

During the first week of June some of the galleys so long in preparation weighed anchor. Two of those remaining in port were not yet outfitted for war, since there was still a balance of 5,000 ducats to be paid to Venice.[62] One month later, the Venetians wrote to their secretary at Buda concerning the acquisition of Gallipoli and Solon after the expedition against the Turks.[63] In the meantime

[57] Georgius Despotus Rasciae et Johannes de Huniad pacem cum Turcorum Caesare, Wladislao Rege inconsulto et apparente bellum, conficiunt. Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 710.

[58] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[60] Quapropter omnem mentem et omne studium nostrum semper adhibuimus ad ipsius regni nostri pacem et concordiam inter se et partes adjacentes faciendam, ut liberiore inde animo ad sanctum et catholicum bellum contra Theucros personaliter capescendum possemus intendere. Iorga, *Notes et extraits*, II, 404.

[61] This information was recorded by Ragusan ambassadors who saw Ladislas' letter at the Bosnian court. *Ibid.*, p. 407.

[62] *Ibid.*, III, 172.

[63] *Mon. spect. hist. Slav. merid.*, XXI, 201.

the crusading tithe had not been supported at Venice in accordance with the expectations of the Holy See. On August 17 Eugenius IV wrote to Venice expressing astonishment at the small amount of money which had been collected there. Yet, in spite of the unreasonable Venetian demands for money, a fleet of twenty-two vessels was finally assembled in the summer of 1444, consisting of the contributions of the Holy See, the Republics of Venice and Ragusa, and the Duke of Burgundy. Later two Byantine galleys joined the Christian fleet.[64] This modest naval force was certainly too small to fight a formal naval campaign. The Venetian fleet, which defeated the Turks in the naval battle of 1416 at Gallipoli, was composed of more than four times that number.[65] However, the crusading fleet stood an excellent chance of preventing a return of the Turkish forces which Murad II had withdrawn from Europe to crush the revolt in Caramania.

Meanwhile, the Polish king, having refused to ratify the truce already ratified two months before at Adrianople by the sultan, reaffirmed his pledge on August 4 at Szeged [66] to drive the Turks out of Europe.[67] But the Christian forces were to suffer one more reverse. George Brankovich made peace with the Turks less than two weeks after Ladislas declared his intention to continue the crusade. This separate Serbian-Turkish treaty [68] not only deprived the king of the valuable Serbian reinforcements, but also enabled the Turks to withdraw more of their forces garrisoned in the numerous Serbian towns to oppose the Christian army in Europe. The breaking of the Serbian-Hungarian alliance was a great diplomatic success for the Turks.[69]

Before the fleet set sail for the East Eugenius IV endeavored to have part of it sent to defend the island of Rhodes, as he had ex-

[64] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[65] Iorga, *Geschichte des osmanischen Reiches*, I, 371.

[66] The Szeged manifesto. Cf. Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 708 ff.

[67] Halecki, *op. cit.*, p. 32 ff.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 54 ff.

[69] The loss of the Serbian contingent was partly compensated by the unexpected arrival near Nicopolis of several thousand Wallachians under their Voivode, Vlad Drakul. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

pressed earlier.[70] The Venetians vigorously opposed this plan since they were hopeful of cultivating trade relations[71] with Egypt as Genoa had done.[72] On June 17 the Venetian senate wrote to Aloisio Loredano, the captain of the papal contingent, instructing him that the fleet had been armed against the Turks alone. He was not only ordered to refrain from deliberately attacking the Egyptian fleet, but was to give it a wide berth if he should meet it at sea. Under no circumstances was he to go to Rhodes. If the papal legate should request that the ships be sent there Loredano was to excuse himself by replying that such an act would be contrary to the original agreements.[73] The Venetians felt it necessary to send similar instructions to Contarini, Giorgio, Loredano,[74] and Morosini, the commanding officers of the Burgundian vessels, ordering them not to attack the ships of the Egyptian sultan under pain of death.[75] In July, however, while still firmly opposed to dispatching part of the fleet to Rhodes or to Cyprus, the Venetians made no objection to the request of Cardinal Cesarini that part of the fleet be sent to Nicopolis to assist the army in crossing the Danube.[76]

This attitude of Venice, founded largely upon commercial rather than tactical considerations, was a severe disappointment to Eugenius IV, who was now unable to fulfill his promises to the Knights of St. John. In answering his complaints, however, the Venetians argued that lately they had aided the Cypriotes and Hospitallers of

[70] In April Eugenius IV wrote to the hierarchy of the Knights of St. John informing them that he would hasten the preparation of the Christian fleet, having learned that the Sultan of Egypt was preparing to invade Rhodes. Cf. Raynaldus, *op. cit.*, 1444, n. 10.

[71] In February, 1444, the Egyptian sultan replied to a request from Venice concerning the establishment of a Venetian resident at Cairo. Cf. Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 149.

[72] The government of Genoa in the spring of 1444 requested an extension of the terms of the papal bulls by which Martin V had permitted the Genoese to conduct trade with Egypt, Syria, and other Moslem countries. *Ibid.*, p. 166.

[73] The letter also informed Loredano that the Pope had selected the vice-chancellor of the Church as commander-in-chief of the galleys, and the captain of the Burgundian vessels "magnificus dominus de Wahrin (Wavrin), sicut firmiter scimus et nobis promissum est obedire debet prefato reverendissimo domino cardinali legato." Loredano would also submit to him. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

[74] Anthony Loredano.

[75] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 179.

[76] Wavrin also agreed to the suggestion. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Rhodes in every way possible by giving them munitions and supplies, but they were opposed to attacking the Sultan of Egypt whom they regarded as a very powerful ruler. But their strongest argument—for which they claimed the support of the Duke of Burgundy—was their inability, in the event of an attack on the Egyptian fleet, to prevent a retaliatory massacre of the many Venetians living in the possessions of the Egyptian sultan. They did not intend to sacrifice their countrymen for the good of the Hospitallers, and they asked the Pope to remember that he himself was a Venetian![77] It must also be admitted that the ambition of Eugenius IV to bring aid to both the Greeks and to the Knights of St. John at the same time, while very laudable, was not inspired by the realities of the military situation.

The Polish king had planned to cross the Danube on September 1,[78] and, although this crossing did not take place until the twenty-second of the month at the very latest, the crusading fleet had been occupying the straits since the first part of August and was in readiness when Murad II returned from Caramania late in October. At the same time Eugenius IV, anxious to insure the success of the Christian army, endeavored to persuade the Albanian lord Arianite, already a vassal of the sultan, to take up arms against the Turks and to join the crusade. Having learned that Arianite had made peace with the Turks, the Pope, invoking his apostolic authority, absolved the Albanian leader from his oath to the Turks, branding such an alliance as absurd. To remain faithful to such an oath would be detrimental to the faith and an offense to God.[79]

This supreme effort of the Pope to push the Turkish forces back to Asia and to unite all Christendom under Rome met with dismal failure, not through a weakness in the plan of battle, but through unprecedented and unforeseen adversities. The crusading fleet, which had had initial success in blocking the first attempts of the Turks to cross the Hellespont, was suddenly immobilized by "ung grant

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[78] Dlugosz, *op. cit.*, XIII, 708 ff.

[79] Raynaldus, op. cit., 1444, n. 6. When one recalls the serious charges lodged against Cardinal Cesarini of influencing Ladislas to "break" his oath before that thesis was deprived of its foundation by Halecki, it is all the more surprising that this letter to an important Albanian vassal of Murad II was not more generally used by historians to support the traditional view.

orage et tempeste,"[80] while the enemy, with barges provided by the Genoese,[81] made their way to the European side of the straits. Meeting the Christian forces at Varna on the Black Sea, the Turks won a complete victory over Ladislas, who with the papal legate, Cesarini, lost his life in the battle.

From another quarter, the Moreote Greeks, under the leadership of the emperor's brother, Constantine, had planned an anti-Turkish offensive to coincide with the Varna expedition. They achieved initial success when they forced their way across the reconstructed Hexamilion into Attica, capturing Athens and Thebes.[82] Despite the Christian defeat, Constantine in the following year continued the offensive from the Morea with his own troops and 300 soldiers sent to him by the Duke of Burgundy,[83] the only western ruler who showed a genuine understanding of the Turkish peril. One year later, the Greeks were to pay for their bid to restore northern Greece to Byzantium, for they suffered cruelly at the hands of the Turks, who subjected them to a terrible revenge after Murad II stormed the isthmian wall in 1446 and ravaged the country behind it.[84] Venice, continuing the war after the disaster of Varna, was the only power able to come to the aid of the Greeks of the Morea, but in February, 1446, the Venetian fleet was recalled from the Mediterranean, and the Republic of St. Mark made a peace treaty with the Turks[85] to become effective in September.[86]

[80] Jehan de Wavrin, *Anchiennes cronicques d'Engleterre,* 3 vols. (Paris, II, 74.

[81] The rivalry between Venice and Genoa partly explains the action of the latter. The last rupture between the two maritime powers before the crusade occurred on May 18 when the Venetian senate decided to take measures against Genoa in retaliation for certain "damages" caused to Venetians by the Genoese. Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 168.

[82] The Florentine ruler, Nerio II Acciajuoli, formerly a vassal of the Sultan, now recognized the overlordship of the Paleologi. Cf. D. A. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée* (Paris, 1932), I, 230-231.

[83] Constantino Poloponnesi, despotae trecenti milites de Burgundia auxilio missi sunt, qui martio vel aprili anni 1445 in Peloponnesum venere. Cf. Stefano Magno, "Estratto degli annali Veneti," in Charles Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues* (Berlin, 1873), p. 195.

[84] Zakythinos, *op. cit.,* p. 235.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Iorga, *Notes et extraits,* III, 210, ff.

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The effects of the Turkish victory at Varna were, by no means felt only in the Balkans where Ottoman domination was to last four centuries. It also was to decide the fate of the Florentine Union which five years before had healed the schism of the Greek and Latin Churches. Eugenius IV continued his anti-Ottoman policy even after the Christian defeat on the shores of the Black Sea. In July, 1445, he again tried to organize an army out of the remnants of Hunyadi's Hungarian forces which had escaped from the battlefield of Varna. But none of these efforts impeded the speedy arrival of that monumental tragedy of 1453 when Constantinople, the last detested Christian enclave in the midst of the Ottoman dominions, fell to the armies of Mohammed II. Eugenius IV was spared at least this tragic spectacle. Death claimed him six years before the conquering successors of Osman brought to a close the history of the Byzantine Empire.

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SOME CATHOLIC TORIES IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. I.

By

CHARLES H. METZGER*

In 1874 George Bancroft asserted that when Washington found it impossible to enlist recruits in adequate numbers the British succeeded in inducing immigrants to join their forces.[1] In Philadelphia, he informs us, Lord Howe "formed a regiment of Roman Catholics," while with "still better results Clinton courted the Irish," and raised for Lord Rawdon a regiment "in which officers and men were exclusively Irish," with "nearly five hundred deserters from the American army" in this regiment. Two years after Bancroft's assertion, in an essay entitled "The Catholic Church in American History," which he contributed to the *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* John Gilmary Shea denied categorically that any Catholic failed to support the American cause.[2] According to Shea "there were no Tories, no falterers and final deserters among them; none to shout for Congress, while they carefully carried a British protection for emergencies. The Catholics were to a man, with their clergy, staunch and true, which can not be said of the other sects. . . ." And in 1885 Shea was even more emphatic when he insisted that the "Catholics spontaneously, universally, and energetically gave their adhesion to the cause of America, and, when the time came, to American independence. There was no faltering, no division. Every Catholic in the land was a Whig. In the lists of Tories and Loyalists, in the volumes since written about them, you cannot find the name of a single Catholic. There were no Catholic Tories."[3]

Confronted with these contradictory statements of two scholars of high repute the reader asks whether through inadvertence or error

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[1] George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1874 ed.), X, 175.

[2] J. G. Shea, "The Catholic Church in American History," *American Catholic Quarterly Review,* I (January, 1876), 154.

[3] J. G. Shea, "Catholics and Catholicity in the Days of the American Revolution," *Proceedings of the First Public Meeting Held by the United States Catholic Historical Society at the University Club Theatre, New York City, Thursday, May 14, 1885* (New York, 1885), p. 20.

each may not have indulged in over-statement. For a modicum of investigation reveals that there were Catholic Tories, but to what extent Catholic Tories gave military aid to the British cause, how effective this aid was, and how many of these soldiers were really deserters from the American army are not so easy to ascertain. However, the acquisition by the William L. Clements Library of General Clinton's headquarter's papers has made available to scholars all the official correspondence and reports on these as well as other British regiments. Shea's vehement denial seems to overlook many incidents in colonial history, and to be based on the assumption that to be a Tory was so dishonorable as to be little, if at all, short of criminal. During and subsequent to the American Revolution this extreme attitude was largely adopted by the people and by writers, but today we can view the situation more impartially and understand that Tories were not all rascals. Tom Paine's characterization of those days as times that tried men's souls was true to a greater degree than even he appreciated. Born subjects of the king and living as such for decades, many men could not bring themselves to forswear their time-honored allegiance, and pledge loyalty to a new government sponsored by a portion of the people, a minority in many localities. Although the Tories were neither blind nor deaf to the grievances of the colonists against the government in England they were repelled by the excesses of some patriots, and they deemed revolution not only hazardous but unnecessary and, therefore, disloyalty tantamount to treason.

Rarely indeed are all the adherents of a creed of one mind on any political issue. Catholics were no exception to this rule, and besides, on the eve of the American Revolution Catholics were so few and so dispersed that unity of thought or attitude was precluded. Moreover, in view of the recent savage outburst of intolerance occasioned by the Quebec Act[4], and since some of the champions of the new patriot cause had distinguished themselves in this very crusade against "papistry and papists," it would be remarkable indeed if all Catholics could, of a sudden, have forgotten the animosity of the past, made friends of recent enemies, disavowed an allegiance of long standing, and substituted loyalty to an untried creation of doubtful legality. Really the surprising fact is, not that there were Tories among the Catholics, but that in

[4] Charles H. Metzger, S.J., *The Quebec Act* (New York, 1936), *passim.*

spite of the discrimination and persecution they had been subjected to in colonial days so many Catholics did espouse the patriot cause. In short, if we would do justice to the men who had to make a difficult decision we must understand the circumstances as they appeared to them, and refrain from judging them by canons applicable today when conditions are fundamentally different.

When colonial volunteers clashed with British regulars at Bunker's Hill on June 17, 1775, British generals in America and British authorities in England were loath to recruit Catholics for military service. There were, of course, legal restrictions,[5] but prejudice against Catholics in general, and the Irish in particular, was widespread in both countries. And in America it blinded patriots as well as Tories. Because of this bias Charles Lee was betrayed into belittling the British infantry as "composed of the most debauched Weavers, 'prentices, and the scum of the Irish Roman Catholics, who desert upon every occasion, and a few, very few Scotch, who are not strong enough to carry packs—This is no exaggeration."[6] But urgent need dictated a change in British policy despite prejudice,[7] and Catholics were enlisted in Connaught and Munster, and recruiting in America was also suggested,[8] only to be opposed by General Howe, the British commander-in-chief, whose contempt of Irish Roman Catholics was voiced in the letter to Dartmouth quoted below. Two years of inconclusive warfare, however, worked a change even in the mind of Howe. Early in 1777 the British had been mauled at Princeton; Brandywine and Germantown had not proved easy victories; Burgoyne, largely because of Howe's diversion against Philadelphia, was in serious danger; the British had, indeed, seized Philadelphia but results belied expecta-

[5] John W. Fortescue, *History of the British Army*, 13 vols. in 20 (London, 1899-1930), III, 289.

[6] [Charles Lee] *Strictures on a Pamphlet Entitled a "Friendly Address to All Reasonable AMERICANS, on the Subject of our Political Confusions," Addressed to the People of America* (Philadelphia, 1774), p. 10.

[7] "But this Army tho' complete in the Spring, must have between 6 and 7000 Recruits, and of the worst Kind if chiefly composed of Irish Roman Catholics, certain to desert if put to hard Work, and from their Ignorance of Arms not entitled to the smallest confidence as Soldiers." Howe to Dartmouth, 26th Nov. 1775, quoted by E. E. Curtis, *The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution* (New Haven, 1926), p. 52.

[8] *Ibid.*

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tions, and Howe found his communications with New York exposed; finally, rumors were rife that an alliance between France and the revolting colonies was imminent. Why depend on levies from across the Atlantic in such an emergency? Then in March, 1778, the *Royal Gazette* announced that two infantry regiments of Roman Catholics were to be raised in Ireland under Lords Kenmare and Cahar, and a cavalry regiment under George Gould, Esquire of Cork, the officers to be Catholics appointed by the colonels.[9] If the British government connived at the recruiting of Catholics at its very door, would not the enlisting of Catholics in America expedite the relief of the hard-pressed British forces and solve the problem of manpower?

At any rate, in a vindication of his conduct in America written a few years later Lord Howe asserted that after the capture of Philadelphia he held out "greater encouragements" to Mr. Allen, Mr. Chambers, [sometimes Chalmers] and Mr. Clifton, "the chief of the Roman Catholic persuasion, of whom there were said to be many in Philadelphia, as well as in the rebel army serving against their inclinations."[10] As commanders of prospective corps the gentlemen named were "to receive, and form for service, all the well-affected that could be obtained." Siebert tells[11] us that on October 12, Howe approved the list of officers for the first battalion of Pennsylvania Loyalists under William Allen, and two days later he confirmed the cadre of the Roman Catholic Volunteers submitted by Alfred Clifton. However, the *Bulletin* of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum[12] gives November 15, 1777, for the inception of the Roman Catholic Volunteers. The raising of these three regiments is likewise attested by Captain-Major John Montresor, chief engineer of the British forces, when in his journal under date of November 15 he writes, "three Regiments of Provincials raising, vizt. Allen's, Chalmer's and Clifton's. The latter Roman Catholics."[13] Similarly Captain Johann

[9] *Royal Gazette,* March 21, 1778.

[10] *The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the 29th April, 1779, relative to His Conduct, during His Late Command of the King's Troops in North America; to which are added some Observations upon a Pamphlet entitled Letters to a nobleman.* (London, 1780), p. 53.

[11] Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Loyalists of Philadelphia* (Columbus, 1905), p. 41.

[12] *Bulletin of Fort Ticonderoga Museum,* II, No. 5 (January, 1930), 170-173.

[13] G. D. Scull, (ed.). *Collection of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881* (New York, 1882), Montresor Journals, p. 476.

Heinrichs of the Hessian Jaeger corps, writing in April, 1778, from "The Neck, near Philadelphia," notifies his brother that during the winter two infantry regiments had been organized, one of which is "wholly made up of Roman Catholics," while two squadrons of light dragoons were "gotten up" by the Quakers at their own expense.[14]

Alfred Clifton—Sabine calls him Arthur[15] and Griffin[16] both Arthur and Alfred—in the words of Sabine was a "gentleman of the Catholic faith," and a "prominent member of his religious community;" but Sabine errs in saying that Clifton was "of Delaware or Maryland," for Griffin has shown that he was a Philadelphia Catholic whose name appears on the baptismal and marriage registers of old St. Peter's Church.[17] Moreover, he lived in a brick house on "the east side of Second between Mulberry and Sassafras at Corner of Clifton Alley,"[18] and he accepted British allegiance when Howe made himself master of Philadelphia. Siebert informs us that the first muster of Clifton's Roman Catholic Volunteers took place on December 14, revealing a strength of only sixty-two men, but vigorous recruiting raised the number to 176 in ten days.[19] Citing the "List of General and Staff Officers of the Several Regiments serving in America" as his source, Griffin asserts that in 1778 the cadre of the Roman Catholic Volunteers consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Clifton, Major John Lynch, Captains Keneth McCulloch, Mathias Hanley, Martin McEvoy, Nicholas Wuregan, John McKinnon; Lieutenants Peter Eck, John Connell, Edward Holland, James Hanrahan, Ebenezer Wilson, John O'Neill; Ensigns John Grashune, Arthur Bailie, Thomas Quinn, and Edward Gadwin; Chaplain Fredrick Farmer; Quartermaster, John Holland.[20]

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[14] Julius F. Sachse, (trans.) *Exiract from the Letter Book of Captain Johann Heinrichs of the Hessian Jaeger Corps, 1778-80.* Reprinted from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* XXII (July, 1898), 143.

[15] Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution.* (Boston, 1864), II, 496.

[16] Martin I. J. Griffin, *Catholics and the American Revolution.* (Ridley Park and Philadelphia, 1907), I, 328, 330.

[17] Griffin, *op. cit.,* I, 331.

[18] *Ibid.,* I, 330.

[19] Siebert, *op. cit.,* p. 41.

[20] Griffin, *op. cit.,* I, 328, Note. Wuregan is given as Wiergan in an official document of November 7, 1779.

The designation of Frederick Farmer as chaplain appears to be a two-fold error, for the reverend gentleman of whom there is question was named Ferdinand, and besides, proof that he accepted the chaplaincy is lacking. When he writes to another priest early in March, 1778, he observes that when he "waited upon" the British general after the capture of Philadelphia the latter had suggested the raising of a regiment of Roman Catholic volunteers. Mr. Clifton, he continues, "an English gentleman of an Irish Mother," is the commanding officer with the rank of lieutenant colonel. "They desire me to be their chaplain," he adds, which "embarraseth me on account of my age and several other reasons." [21]

Information on the career of the Roman Catholic Volunteers is rather meagre. From headquarters in Philadelphia on April 10, 1778, Howe ordered Lieutenant Colonels Allen, Clifton, and Chalmers to be in readiness to "encamp on Monday next," their ground to be "received" from the quartermaster-general.[22] Nine days later official orders announced that the commander-in-chief confirmed the decision of the court martial presided over by Lieutenant Colonel Moneton, which had acquitted William Smith, a private in the provincial corps of Roman Catholic Volunteers, of the charge of "attempting to cross the Schuylkill with an Intent to Desert to the Rebels." [23]

May brought but light activity. On the sixth Clifton's battalion, as well as Allen's, was ordered to be ready on the morrow to embark "at the upper Coal Yard," taking with them "their Field Equipage and one Week's provisions." [24] Their task was not very martial for it was merely junction with the 55th and 63rd regiments to protect the woodcutters at work on the bank of the river.[25] In mid-May a military tribunal convicted Patrick Mullen of desertion and attempting to cross the Schuylkill to join the rebels, and sentenced him to receive "1000 Lashes in the usual Manner," a verdict which Howe confirmed and

[21] *Woodstock Letters,* XIV (1885), 196.

[22] *Collection of the New York Historical Society for 1883,* "Kemble Papers," (New York, 1884), I, 566.

[23] *Ibid.,* I, 570.

[24] *Ibid.,* I, 577.

[25] *Collection of the New York Historical Society for the Year 1881,* "Montresor Journals," (New York, 1882), 489.

ordained that it be carried out at the discretion of the commanding officer.[26]

When supreme command of the British forces in America devolved on General Clinton, Howe's connection with Clifton's, as well as Allen's and Chamber's corps, ended. The idea of forming these three groups had originated with Howe, and he had furthered the project; but he acknowledged its very limited success when he admitted that at his departure from America in May, Chambers had raised 336 men, but Clifton had only 180, and Allen a mere 152.[27]

Clinton resolved to undo the strategy of Howe by evacuating Philadelphia and marching his troops across New Jersey to the safety of New York, a resolution he put into effect on June 18. What role Clifton's men played at Monmouth is uncertain, but they do not appear to have been in the thick of the fight. At any rate, when on the following day Clinton resumed his retreat, he ordered Clifton's corps, together with that of Allen and the New Jersey Volunteers, to escort the heavy artillery and baggage of the army to Middletown, close to Raritan Bay.[28] Without further incident the Roman Catholic Volunteers reached New York.

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Safe at last in New York Clinton allocated the several Loyalist regiments of his army to posts in the neighborhood. Condemned as he was to a period of inaction until a new campaign could be projected, Clifton used the opportunity to bring his regiment closer to full strength. Competition for recruits was keen among the volunteer groups. On July 13, and again on July 20, the New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury* carried advertisements offering "encouragement" to recruits to Clifton's corps.[29] Recruiting stations were set up at No.

[26] *Collection of the New York Historical Society for 1883,* "Kemble Papers," (New York, 1884), I, 582.

[27] *The Narrative of Lieut. Gen. Sir William Howe, in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the 29th April, 1779, relative to His conduct During His Late Command of the King's Troops in North America; to which are added some observations upon a Pamphlet Entitled Letters to a Nobleman* (London, 1780), p. 53.

[28] *Collection of the New York Historical Society, 1883.* "Kemble Papers," I, 600.

[29] For the Encouragement of all
Gentlemen Volunteers
Who are willing to serve his Majesty's Regt. of
Roman Catholic Volunteers,
Commanded by

51 in Cherry Street, near the Ship Yards," and at an "encampment at Yellow Hook." [30] This effort appears to have brought good results, for Siebert assures us that the August muster showed a strength of 331,[31] an increase of nearly eighty-four percent over the 180 given by Howe for the previous May. The same source reveals that July 15 found the Roman Catholic Volunteers and the Maryland Loyalists at Flushing Fly on Long Island, a few miles northeast of New Utrecht, opposite Staten Island.

But not all was well with the Roman Catholic Volunteers. During the retreat from Philadelphia to New York military discipline had suffered, and even officers were involved. And now inaction brought such serious breaches of discipline and military decorum that Clinton dealt with them in summary fashion. Headquarters in New York announced on October 24 that a general court martial presided over by Lieutenant Colonel Ludlow had found Captain McKinnon of the Roman Catholic Volunteers guilty of "Ungentleman Like behaviour," to wit, "Plundering in the Jerseys," and "suffering himself to be Kick[d] by Cpt. M'avoy of the same Corps on a Parade without Properly resenting it," and, therefore, sentenced him to be cashiered from His Majesty's service. Moreover, the same tribunal established the fact that Captain M'Evoy of the same regiment had likewise plundered "in taking a horse and cows," and had behaved "indecently on the Parade," for which he, too, was discharged in disgrace. Both findings

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Liet. Col. Commandant
Alfred Clifton*
During the present wanton and unnatural Rebellion,
And no longer.
The sum of Four Pounds,
Will be given above the usual Bounty,
A suit of New Cloaths,
And every other necessary to complete a Gentleman soldier. Those who are willing to show their attachment to their King and country by engaging in the above regiment, will call at Captain M'Kennon, at No. 51, in Cherry-Street, near the Ship Yards, or at Major John Lynch at Yellow-Hook; where they will receive pay and good quarters.

N.B. Any person bringing a well-bodied, loyal subject to either of the above places, shall receive ONE GUINEA for his trouble.

New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 13 and 20, 1778.

[30] N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 6 vols. (New York, 1915-1928), V, 1070.

[31] Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

were approved by the commander-in-chief,[32] who in a communication to Lord George Germain mentions the "inattention of the officers to the terms of their warrant and their utter disregard of discipline."[33]

After this incident, so discreditable to any military unit and so eloquent of the collapse of esprit de corps, the Roman Catholic Volunteers all but disappear from history. Diligent search of Lord Clinton's British Headquarter's papers and the official papers of Lord George Germain fail to throw light on the fortunes of the corps or its disappearance, other than Clinton's report to Germain that disregard of discipline on the part of the officers induced him to transfer eighty men from the Roman Catholic Volunteers to the Volunteers of Ireland and reduce the former regiment.[34] Thus ten days before the court martial of October 24 the official report on the groups located on New York Island, Long Island, and Staten Island informs us that Allen's and Chamber's corps are under orders to embark, but it is silent about Clifton's.[35] Similarly, when late in November the Deputy Inspector-General of Provincial Forces submitted a list of His Majesty's provincial corps chaplains there is no mention of the Roman Catholic Volunteers.[36] The silence continues almost unbroken. The returns of the sick and wounded in the military hospital at New York for the last week of January, 1779, includes none of Clifton's men,[37] and a mid-February report of the state of the corps serving under Clinton ignores them, while another report of the same date on the "distribution and recapitulation" of the same forces does likewise.[38] March, 1779, brought an accounting of the women, children, and waggoners victualed in New York and its dependencies with no Roman Catholic Volunteer dependents enumerated;[39] May 1 failed to list them among

[32] Captain Robert Clayton's Orderly Book, 1777-8. Manuscript in Pennsylvania Historical Library.

[33] Sackville-Germain Papers, Clinton to Germain, October 23, 1778.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Germain Papers. Distribution of Corps etc., October 14, 1778.

[36] Henry Clinton Papers.

[37] Return of Sick and Wounded in His Majesty's Hospital at New York between 24th and 31, January, 1779, J. Mallet, Henry Clinton Papers.

[38] Clinton Papers. Distribution and Recapitulation of the Following Corps under the command of General Sir Henry Clinton, 15 Feb. 1779.

[39] Return of Women, Children and Waggoners of the British Regiments, New Levies and Civil Department Victualed at New York and its Dependencies from 18 to 24 March, 1779.

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the troops at New York, and a record of the sick and wounded in the New York hospital for the first week of the month is equally reticent.[40] A break in the ominous silence occurs on November 9, 1779, when a "return of Seconded Officers of Provincial Forces" and the *per diem* rate of their subsistence mentions Lieutenant Colonel Alfred Clifton of the Roman Catholic Volunteers as receiving seventeen shillings, Major Lynch seven shilling six pence, Captains Mathias Hanley, Nicholas Wuregan, and Thomas Yelverton four shillings, Lieutenants John Patrick Eck, Patrick Kane, and Quartermaster John Nowlan two shilling four pence.[41] What strikes one at once is the shrinkage in the number of officers, and the replacements since the origin of the Volunteers less than a year previous.

In some way the Roman Catholic Volunteers appear to have come to an undistinguished end as a separate unit, apparently even before the remnant of officers was provided for as related above. There is only Clinton's casual remark to Germain as to how or when the corps passed out of existence. Apparently its demise stirred no comment in official circles or elsewhere. From the unheralded passing of the Roman Catholic Volunteers[42] we must conclude that Lord Howe's attempt to recruit a regiment of Catholics for the Royal Army was an egregious failure; likewise the conclusion is inescapable that Bancroft exaggerates, and misleads the reader when he says that Lord Howe "formed a regiment of Roman Catholics" in Philadelphia, and that Shea, too, erred when he insisted that not a single Catholic failed to support the American cause. Would Sir Henry Clinton be more successful in his venture with the so-called Volunteers of Ireland?

[40] Clinton Papers.

[41] Clinton Papers. Return of Seconded officers of Provincial Forces and the Rate per day of their Subsistence. New York, 9th Novm. 1779.

[42] Officers of Roman Catholic Volunteers

Colonel	Alfred Clifton
Lieutenant Colonel	——— ———
Major	John Lynch
Captains	Kenneth McCulloch
	Mathias Henley
	Martin McEvoy
	Nicholas Wergan
	John McKinnon
Lieutenants	Peter Eck
	John Connell
	James Hanrahan

Of sterner stuff were the Volunteers of Ireland, the joint project of General Clinton and Lord Rawdon.[43] Siebert tells us that "in the early part of May," 1778, Lord Rawdon was recruiting in Philadelphia and that he probably had 300 recruits before the city was evacuated.[44] For this information he may have relied on Kemble's journal, which records under date of Friday, May 1, and May 2, that Lord Rawdon "a Hibernian" is raising a provincial battalion, and that the said Rawdon may be raised to adjutant-general if Colonel Patterson declines, an eventuality quite likely.[45] But for May 25 the same journal presents Clinton's orders issued from headquarters in Philadelphia, to the effect that Captain Lord Rawdon of the 63rd Regiment is appointed to the command of a provincial corps "to be raised and styled the Volunteers of Ireland," and as commander he is to enjoy the rank of colonel.[46] Other officers of the group are Captain Doyle of the 55th to be lieutenant colonel; Captain Despard of the 7th to be major; Sergeant John Jewell of the 63rd to be adjutant, and Sergeant John Stewart of the 35th to be quartermaster. Two days later other orders designated Mr. Armstrong, hospital mate, to be surgeon of the new unit.[47] This

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	Edward Holland
	John Neill
	Ebenezar Wilson
	Harmon Black
	John Jewel
Surgeon	——— ———
Chaplain	Rev. Ferdinand Farmer
Ensign	John Grashune
	Arthur Bailie
	Thomas Quinn
	Edward Goodwin
	H. P. Sergeant
	Mark Ransford
Quartermaster	John Holland

Michael J. O'Brien, *A Hidden Phase of American History* (New York, 1920), p. 188.

[43] Francis Lord Rawdon, 1754 to 1826. First Marquis of Hastings; Second Earl of Moira, Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX, 117-122. "A Stern Martinet . . . remarkable military ability."

[44] Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[45] "Kemble's Journal," p. 150.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 586.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 587.

list quickly underwent change, especially in the ranks of colonel and ensign, as was to be expected of a newly constituted outfit. Apparently Clinton adhered to his policy of adding officers when he deemed them deserving of promotion.[48]

As a matter of fact the genesis, *raison d'être* and unique character of the Volunteers of Ireland are set forth in a long, somewhat rambling communication of Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, dated

[48] Officers of the Volunteers of Ireland and Dates of Commission

Colonel	Francis Lord Rawdon	25 May, 1778
Lt. Col.	Welborne Ellis Doyle	25 May, 1778
Major	John Doyle	15 March, 1782
Captains	James King	26 May, 1778
	William Blacker	11 October, 1778
	John McMahon	20 August, 1779
	Charles Velancy	9 January, 1781
	Henry Monro	9 January, 1781
	Charles McDonald	25 October, 1781
	John Wilson	15 March, 1782
Captain-Lt.	Charles Bingham	9 January, 1781
Lieutenants	Thomas Proctor	25 May, 1778
	Edward Gilburn	25 May, 1778
	Thomas Moffatt	26 May, 1778
	Hugh Gillespie	30 May, 1778
	James Thompson	9 January, 1781
	Thomas Flynn	9 January, 1781
	Thomas Lindsay	12 March, 1781
	James Cardner	25 April, 1781
	Abel Harris	15 March, 1782
Ensigns	Walter Cunningham	26 May,1778
	Davies Whitley	2 July, 1778
	Henry Powell Sergeant	1 August, 1778
	Marcus Banford	1 January, 1781
	Baily Breton	9 January, 1781
	——— Dowling	9 January, 1781
	George Darley	9 January, 1781
	John Frederick Parker	25 April, 1781
	Arthur Fleming	20 June, 1781
Chaplain	——— Barker	———
Surgeon	George Armstrong	25 May, 1778
Mate	John Hill	25 May, 1778
Adjutant	Hugh Gillespie	25 April, 1781
Quartermaster	William Campbell	———

Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, II, No. 11 (January, 1932), 176-177.

New York, October 23, 1778.[49] Clinton begins by adverting to the instruction of March 8 urging him to try to draw from the American Army the Europeans who are said to constitute its principal force. He comments that it is difficult to offer terms sufficient to induce "defection from the rebels" without arousing the dissatisfaction of those natives of the country who, out of attachment to their king and uninfluenced by the rewards, took up arms in the first provincial corps that were formed. Our chief antagonists, he observes, are in general the emigrants from Ireland who, fleeing from real or imagined oppression, know no solicitude for the welfare of Britain. Because of their numbers, national customs were retained and national pride fostered, so that they were not fully assimilated by the Americans. Hence Clinton concludes that playing on "these latent seeds of National Attachment" gave the best hope of inciting them to measures which were, perhaps, contrary to the interests of the majority. On this basis then he formed the plan of a regiment "entirely Irish" in officers and men,[50] and since Lord Rawdon stood out as the Irishman in the service marked for the command of such a unit he was accordingly appointed.[51] Rawdon, in turn, flattered by the distinction and eager to promote the royal cause, accepted the command and acted with zeal. At the same time efforts were made to publicize the regiment "among the enemy," and they were so successful that despite many handicaps, "above 380 Deserters from the Rebel Army have been collected, and are now in arms in that Regiment, contented with their situation and attached to their Officers."[52] Clinton attests the excellence of the men, their spirit and discipline, despite their short time in service. Cornwallis, too, with whom they were in Jersey, com-

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[49] B. F. Stevens *Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783* (London, 1892), No. 1190.

[50] O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 189 ". . . there is proof that all of these officers were drawn from other English regiments and assigned especially to these new formations to give them the appearance of being 'Irish Regiments.'" O'Brien cites Clinton's letter to Germain, October 23, 1778, as warrant for his using the word "appearance."

[51] The correctness of this account is vouched for by Rawdon himself in a letter to Andre, May 21, 1780, in the Clinton Papers.

[52] Sackville-Germain Papers, Clinton to Germain, October 23, 1778.

plimented them by assigning them advance posts in camp and on the march. Loss by desertion had been trifling, partly it may be, because one culprit who made the attempt was so rigorously handled by his comrades that the general abhorence of such an act was manifested. Indeed, because of his high opinion of the corps Clinton had strengthened it by the transfer of eighty men from the Roman Catholic Volunteers whose officers were notorious for their disregard of discipline. He points out that the regiment has been clothed and appointed at the expense of the officers whose commissions differ from those of officers in other provincial corps inasmuch as, except for the lieutenant colonel, the officers drawn from regular regiments were promoted one rank only. As justification for the selection and transfer of so many regular officers to this group Clinton advances the excellent discipline that obtains. Some commissions likewise were accorded to officers of provincial groups distinguished for meritorious service. Because of the "particular circumstances of the Corps" Clinton now inquires whether its transfer to regular status would not express public approbation and be attended with beneficent results. Among other grounds for this move are the purpose of its creation, its reputation, the heavy expenses incurred by the officers, their success in four months, the current state of the corps, and the modest promotion of officers, all of whom have proved themselves equal to the duties of their respective ranks. After this Clinton devotes some lines to the colonel and lieutenant colonel of the regiment and their attitude towards rank. Once again he returns to the question of the "establishment" of the regiment, assuring Germain that other provincial groups would not resent it because the Volunteers of Ireland are regarded as on a special footing. He then gives as a reason for enclosing the list of officers[53] his wish

[53] Officers of the Volunteers of Ireland

Lt. Col.—Wellborne Ellis Doyle, Capt Lt. of the 55th Reg. which commission he resigned without any pecuniary consideration.

Major—John Despard. Captain in the English Fusileers.

Capt.—John Campbell. Lt. 44th Reg.; John Doyle. resigned lt. in 40th without pecuniary consid.; James King. 3 yrs. ensign in 57th, afterwards Lt. Queen's Rangers; William Barry. having been presented to Sir Henry Clinton at Berlin resigned a lt. in Prussian Service; 3 companies vacant.

Capt. Lt.—David Dalton. 3 yrs. ensign in 55th, purchased a lt. and his bills being protested thro' the failure of a Banker was obliged to sell out.

Lts.—Chas. Vallancey ensign in the 16th; Chas. Bingham resigned ensign in

that Germain might observe how many officers in regular service have resigned their rank in order to join the Volunteers. At this point Clinton digresses to aver that it would be "a powerful temptation to the Irish" if he were authorized to assure them of royal pardon for all crimes hitherto committed by them in Ireland, murder excepted; for the prospect of returning to their families free from all apprehension would have a good effect, and, if hedged with due restrictions, could "produce no evil to the state." He admits that there are many objections to this proposal, asserts that he simply suggests it for further consideration, and professes due deference and submission both in regard to this matter and the establishment of the Volunteers. Meanwhile he would encourage recruiting for the corps which he believes

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the 35th without pecuniary consid.; Edward Fitzgerald. ensign in 26th; James Moffat. ensign in Delancey's 3rd batt.; Thomas Proctor. Lt. in Gov. Legge's Volunteers.; Samuel Bradstreet. ensign in Queen's Rangers; William Gillespie. volunteer in 7th Reg.; Herman Black. cadet with Royal Artillery; one vacant.

Ensigns—John Jewell. serj. maj. 1st Reg. afterwards in the Adj. Gen. office in this country; John Stuart. quartermaster serjeant to 35th Reg.; Thomas Wilson. midshipman strongly recommended by Com^re^ Elliot; Edward Gilborne. ensign with Prince of Wales' Volunteers; Thomas Flynn. volunteer with Light Infantry; David Whitley. serjeant in the Fusileers; Joseph Thompson, volunteer well recommended; John Cunningham. lt. in Carolina under Gov. Marten; Thomas Serjeant. volunteer with Light Infantry.

Adjutant—John Jewell.

Quartermaster—John Stewart.

Surgeon—George Armstrong, hospital mate.

Surgeon's mate—John Hill, acted as Mate to the 27th reg. during one campaign while the proper Mate was absent.

Having recommended these Officers at different times to your Excellency for the ranks they now hold, I must take the Opportunity of repeating that I have ever impartially pointed out to your Excellency such men as I thought would forward his Majesty's Service by attending seriously to the Discipline of the Corps. Whether or not I have erred in my judgement upon them, the present State of the Regt must decide.

RAWDON
Col of Volunteer of Ireland

To His Excellency the Commander in Chief.
October 23, 1778.
Sackville-Germain Papers

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may increase to a second battalion.[54] Thus the Volunteers of Ireland took their place among the numerous provincial corps.[55]

Before this date the provincial corps rivalled one another in their efforts to enlist the services of eligible men, and the rivalry would grow. Advertisements stressing the advantages and rewards of particular regiments appeared in newspapers of Tory sympathies.[56] Never-

[54] A curious but accepted procedure in army promotion at this time is revealed in a communication of April 23, 1780, from Captain John Campbell of the Volunteers to Clinton. In straightforward manner Campbell informs the commander-in-chief that since Major Despard decided to retain his commission in the Royal Fusilliers "the Majority" of the Volunteers have become vacant, wherefore Campbell enumerates his qualifications for the rank, among them his completion of ten years as an officer, and his five campaigns in America. Moreover, to associate himself with the Volunteers for whom he raised 180 approved recruits he had recently resigned one of the oldest lieutenancys in the army. Accordingly, as eldest captain in Rawdon's regiment he solicited Clinton's "consideration and favor" to succeed to the said vacancy. "And your memorialist will pray."

[55] Among these provincial corps, perhaps the most important were the following; Oliver DeLancey's brigade; Turnbull's 3rd American regiment; Lt. Col. Simcoe's Queen's Rangers; Lt. Col. Banastere Tarleton's British Legion; the King's American Regiment; Prince of Wales' American Volunteers; the Loyal Americans; the King's Loyal Orange Rangers; The New York Volunteers; Butler's Rangers; the Royal Greens; the Volunteers of Ireland; the Roman Catholic Volunteers.

[56] Adv. Volunteers—Prince of Wales's Royal American Volunteers one guinea bounty "tis more than probable that those who enlist in that regiment will for some months have it in their power to earn from 15/ to 20/ per day." New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, July 6, 1778.

Adv.—Volunteers to Corps of pioneers under Sir William Erskine—those bringing a volunteer to have ½/ and thanks of Captain Price the recruiting officer. New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, October 19, 26, 1778.

Adv.—Volunteers to Queen's Rangers—Lt. Col. Simcoe 'for bringing a recruit a reward of "one dollar for their trouble"' *Royal Gazette*, December 2, 1778.

Volunteers to Chasseurs or Dragoons—Lt. Col. Emmerick. One guinea paid for recruit—½ at time of enlistment, ½ at inspection and approval of recruit. *Royal Gazette*, December 30, 1778.

Loyal battalion of New Jersey Volunteers . . . "receive TWENTY DOLLARS bounty, and everything necessary to complet a gentleman Soldier. The above bounty will be given to those who enter before the fifth day of May next.—" New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, March 15, 22, 29; April 5, 12, 19, 26, 1779.

All aspiring Heroes Have now an opportunity of distinguishing themselves by joining the QUEENS RANGER HUSSARS commanded by Lt. Col. SIMCOE. Any spirited Young Man will receive every encouragement, be immediately mounted on an elegant Horse and furnished with cloathing &c to the

theless Oberholzer assures us that the effort was not "brilliantly successful," even if in Philadelphia about 1,000 men were obtained in this way, "not a few of them deserters from Washington's army." [57] At any rate, in this scramble for men the Volunteers of Ireland were given an advantage when Clinton, on May 30, 1778, decreed that no corps was "to entertain Irish recruits except the Queen's Rangers, Roman Catholic Volunteers, and Volunteers of Ireland." [58] Some success must have crowned the recruiting efforts of Rawdon and his associates, for on June 16 Clinton ordered the Volunteers of Ireland, two German regiments, and three other provincial regiments, all under Lieutenant General Knyphausen and Major General Grant, to cross the river "tomorrow morning at four." [59] On the return to New York from Philadelphia, of which this was the beginning, Siebert tells us that at the close of August the Volunteers of Ireland were stationed at Six Mile Hill, a few miles southeast of New Brunswick, while at the end of the following February they were in New York, "with a strength of 509 men." [60]

What role, if any, the Volunteers played at Monmouth it is impossible to say. Two months later, as Captain Clayton informs us, on September 22 "the Volunteers of Ireland" were to lead "a Columb" of six regiments, and march "to Morrow morning at 5 O clock" with the baggage following. The same source reveals that grenadiers were to cover a general forage in late September while the Volunteers of Ireland and an officer and twenty dragoons took up stations at Brooke Bridge. On another foraging expedition scheduled for October 2, the Volunteers, under their senior officers, were to occupy the same posts as the previous day and return to camp only "when the furreging & Roasting is completed." Captain Clayton likewise reveals that James McDonough and Arthur Byrnes, privates in the "Volinteers," tried by the general court martial presided over by "Colo french" on the

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amount of FORTY GUINEAS, By applying to Cornet SPENCER, at his Quarters No. 1033 Water - Street, Hewit's Tavern, behind the Coffee House, or the Defeat at Brandywine, on Golden-Hall. Whoever brings a recruit shall instantly receive TWO GUINEAS. *Royal Gazette*, March 17, 20, 1779.

[57] Ellis P. Oberholtzer. *Philadelphia, A History of the City and Its People* (Philadelphia, 1912), I, 268.

[58] "Kemble's Journals," I, 588.

[59] *Ibid.*, I, 594.

[60] Siebert, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

charge of having deserted from the corps were found guilty and "adjudged to Receive 1000 Lashes Each," a verdict approved by the commander-in-chief who ordered that the punishment be inflicted "at such time and in such proportions" as the officers in command of the corps should think proper. By mid-October the Volunteers of Ireland are listed with many other corps on New York Island, Long Island, and Staten Island.[61] Still lacking a chaplain in late November,[62] they were ordered to march at seven o'clock on the morning of December 3 to Cortland's House.[63]

On January 23, 1779, Germain penned a reply[64] to Clinton's numerous inquiries of the previous October in respect to provincial corps in general and to the Volunteers of Ireland in particular. For the most part Germain confined himself to directives for any and all provincial corps, agreeing with Clinton on some points while dissenting on others. At the outset Germain declares that in his eagerness to show favor to those loyal subjects who have taken up arms in provincial regiments His Majesty ordains that all officers of such detachments shall enjoy the same rank as that of provincial officers under Amherst in the recent war against the French. Accordingly, while all provincial officers shall rank as juniors to British officers, if provincials should be wounded in action "so as to lose Limb or be maimed" they shall be entitled to the "same Gratuity of One Year's Advanced Pay" as are officers of the "established Army." And those who have completed American corps or shall do so, when recommended by the commander-in-chief, shall have permanent rank in America and half pay upon the reduction of their regiments in the same manner as officers of reduced British regiments. Clinton is instructed to report on such volunteer groups. In choosing officers he is to prefer such of His Majesty's subjects "as are Natives of America, and of some Weight and Influence, and have property in that country," and others "of merit and Influence as have Settlements there." To expedite enlistments in provincial corps His Majesty offers a bounty of 22 shillings 6 pence sterling in addition to existing bounties. Provision is to be made for non-commissioned officers and privates if they are wounded. Moreover,

[61] Sackville-Germain Papers, October 14, 1778. Distribution of the corps. . . .

[62] A List of His Majesty's Provincial Corps Chaplains Names & date of their appointments. New York, 27 November 1778, Clinton Papers.

[63] "Kemble Journals," p. 167.

[64] Clinton Papers, Germain to Clinton, Whitehall, January 23, 1779.

His Majesty confirms Sir William Howe's grant of 100 acres of land to every private, and 200 to every non-commissioned officer who continues in service "till the Rebellion is subdued." Similar inducements are to be held out to "the Europeans in Washington's army" and the corps already formed under Lord Rawdon "of Irish Deserters." As regards the general pardon for crimes committed in Great Britain or Ireland, murder excepted, which Clinton had advocated, Germain observed that it cannot be given in general terms because of legal requirements of specification of name and crime in each instance. Hence, as His Majesty is disposed to grant the request to the extent proposed, Clinton is to submit the names of those entitled to pardon, with details of crimes, time, and place of conviction, and this list will be laid before His Majesty for royal signature, and the Recorder of London will be instructed to insert these names in the next general pardon, "that shall issue for the poor convicts in Newgate."

Insofar as this communication dealt with the Volunteers of Ireland, Clinton could not have been overly pleased, for while it approved the amnesty to wrong doers that he had requested in his report of October 23 it was silent on the other issues which had formed the major portion of his inquiry, and silence was tantamount to rejection. On May 14 he voiced his misgivings and objections[65] to what Germain had ordained. In the first place he set forth the inconveniences arising from the practice of ranking provincial officers after those of respective rank in British service; then he enumerated the problems stemming from the promise of half pay; finally, he called attention to the fact that some provincial corps, though under full complement, have been ordered to active service and have suffered casualties, and thus their completion is made doubtful, and, through no fault of theirs, they are denied the benefits set for fully completed provincial corps. The commander-in-chief had no intention of discontinuing his efforts in behalf of the Volunteers of Ireland in whom his interest was personal; in due time he would take up cudgels again in their behalf.

Meanwhile Rawdon's regiment was undergoing experiences common to men in service. Recruiting was pushed in New York,[66] with

[65] Clinton Papers, Clinton to Germain, May 14, 1779.

[66] Adv. All Gentelmen Natives of Ireland, are invited to join the Volunteers of Ireland, commanded by their Countryman, Lord RAWDON. A Corps in which every Recruit is sure of finding Townsmen or Relations.—The terms of enlistment are for Three Years, or during the war. Every Recruit shall on his enlist-

no little success.[67] In mid-March [68] two lieutenants and two ensigns sat in court martial and acquitted the prisoner, Robert Owens, a private of Captain Campbell's company, because of insufficient evidence against him. St. Patrick's Day was duly celebrated, with the physique and bearing of Rawdon's men evoking favorable comment.[69] In April a Lieutenant Marshall charged [70] that three of Rawdon's men had assaulted him and inflicted such injury that he was unfit for service for two days, but Clinton appended the observation that Marshall, his servant, was so "exceedingly in liquor" that he probably fell from his horse. The general exonerated the Volunteers on the score that everyone was present at the hourly roll call from "sunset till nine" when all doors were locked making egress impossible till daybreak, when the doors were unlocked. Moreover, Bloomingdale, the reputed scene of the assault, was six miles from the headquarters of the Volunteers.

In the first week of May three of Rawdon's men were among the sick and wounded in the royal hospital in New York, but 397 were on York Island fit for duty.[71] An official report on June 10 reveals the flourishing condition of the regiment, then at Philipsburg.[72] Present are one major, five captains, seven lieutenants, seven coronets and ensigns, thirty-nine non-commissioned officers, but no chaplain, and 387 rank and file; six lieutenants, three drummers and thirty-four

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ment receive 30 s. sterling. Those who wish to distinguish their attachment to their country by entering this Corps, are desired to apply at the quarters of the regiment in Bowery Lane New York, or at Lieut. Col. Doyle's quarters, No. 10 Wall Street. *Royal Gazette*, February 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27; March 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, 20, 24, 27, 31; April 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 21, 24, 28, 1779.

[67] Clinton Papers, Return of Women, Children and Waggoners of the British Regiments, New Levies and Civil Department Victualed at New York and Its Dependencies from 18 to 24 March, 1779. Volunteers of Ireland 494 men, 89 women, 38 children, 4 waggoners.

[68] Clinton Papers, Proceedings of a regimental Court-Martial held by order of Lt. Col. Doyle commanding the Volunteers of Ireland, Bunker's Hill, March 11, 1779.

[69] Frank Moore, *Diary of the American Revolution*, (New York, 1860), II, 151. ". . . marched four hundred strapping fellows, neither influenced by Yankee or Ague."

[70] Clinton Papers, Marshall to William Tryon, April 19, 1779.

[71] *Ibid.*, May 1, 2, 8, 1779. In numbers the Volunteers of Ireland exceeded all the regiments of the Guards except one.

[72] *Ibid.*, June 10, 1779. State of the following corps. . . .

privates are absent recruiting; one sergeant and nine privates are "prisoners with the rebels;" four sergeants, one drummer and eighteen privates are sick, and one private wounded. Total effectives are given as thirty sergeants, twenty-two drummers, and 449 privates, with only eighty-one rank and file "wanting to complete." Evidently the advertising and recruiting efforts of Rawdon and his associates had met with considerable success! However, on June 19 Rawdon averred [73] that only 380 of his men were "ready for the field," a rather startling decrease from the 449 "effectives" of June 10, or 435 of February 15. [74] When the Americans under Anthony Wayne stormed Stony Point on July 16 British casualities, totaling 544, included one sergeant of the Volunteers made prisoner by the "rebels." [75] As was not uncommon at the time some of Rawdon's men appear to have had wife and children in camp during July and August. The numbers fluctuated.[76] September almost marked a turning point in the fortunes of the Volunteers when the word "embarked" finds place after their name in an official report on the distribution of the corps under Sir Henry Clinton,[77] but some months would elapse before they actually sailed.

Washington's intelligence network promptly relayed this information to headquarters at West Point [78] with a surmise as to their destination, for we find him advising the President of Congress that "Rawdon's or Irish Volunteers among those under order for embarkation" generally believed to southward, "and Charles Town the object of the campaign." Hutchinson, the deputy adjutant general, now credits Rawdon with 426 fit for duty, and 526 total effectives, and he adds the note "embarked." [79] Within a week the inspector-general of provincial forces, Alexander Innes, recorded the flood tide of the prosperity of the Volunteers of Ireland with 437 privates, and forty-one non-commissioned officers, a total of 478 present and fit for duty, while totals, including prisoners, sick, wounded, and those on recruiting assignments, raise the non-commissioned officers to fifty-two and

[73] *Ibid.*, June 19, 1779. Distribution of troops. . . .

[74] *Ibid.*, February 15, 1779. State of the following Corps. . . .

[75] *Ibid.*, July 16, 1779. State of Killed Wounded & Missing. . . .

[76] *Ibid.*, July 18-25; August 22-29; September 19-26, 1779.

[77] *Ibid.*, Distribution of the following corps. . . . September, 1779.

[78] John Fitzpatrick, (ed.), To the President of Congress. *Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931-1944), XVI, 333.

[79] Clinton Papers, September 15, 1779. Distribution of the following Corps. . . .

the private to 572, twelve over completion![80] For the first time a chaplain is accredited to the regiment but we have no clue as to his identity. Innes may have known of Clinton's very personal interest in Rawdon's command, and this may explain why a supplementary report to the commander-in-chief[81] two days later observed that Rawdon "has spared no pains nor expense to make them useful," with the result that "their appearance was in every respect extremely good and Soldier like." Innes likewise testified to the merit of the Queen's Rangers and the New York Volunteers, and he expressed the belief that several other provincial corps, among them the King's American Regiment and the Loyal American Battalion were entitled "to your Excellency's Protection" when an opportunity offered of recommending them "to the Royal Favor"—a recommendation he repeated early in October.[82] The next day Clinton informed Germain[83] that in obedience to His Lordship's instructions of January 23 and June 25, he took the liberty to recommend the Queen's Rangers under Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe, the New York Volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, and the Volunteers of Ireland under Colonel Lord Rawdon. He declared their officers "worthy of permanent Rank in America and Halfpay" when reduced; and as basis for his suggestion he enclosed the report of the inspector-general on their state. Not in vain did Clinton urge these requests for in mid-January, 1780, Germain signified his approval of the twofold request.[84]

The precise whereabouts of the Volunteers of Ireland at this time is hard to establish but they seem to have been held aboard transports awaiting sailing orders. At all events Kemble's Journal tells us[85] that in early October Clinton went up the North River leaving the 7th, 23rd, 33rd, and Volunteers of Ireland embarked "to proceed to Stony Point, under Lord Cornwallis, should they be wanted." At the same time, however, a report reveals that two of the Volunteers of Ireland were victualed at the commissary-general's stores at Savannah.[86]

[80] *Ibid.*, September 20, 1779.

[81] *Ibid.*, September 22, 1779. Report of Inspector General. . . .

[82] *Ibid.*, October 9, 1779. Inspector Gen. of Provincial Forces Report. . . .

[83] *Ibid.*, Sir Henry Clinton to Lord George Germain, October 10, 1779.

[84] *Ibid.*, Germain to Clinton, January 19, 1780.

[85] Kemble Papers, p. 187.

[86] Clinton Papers, Abstract of the number of Men, Women and Children, etc., October 11-20, 1779.

Though listed as embarked the Volunteers appear to have lingered in or near New York, for between November 14 and 21, 617 of them, together with 113 women and twenty children were victualed at New York,[87] while twenty-three of their number remained in the hospital,[88] and one unfortunate individual, a Thomas Kelley or Kellie, under sentence of death for robbing a Hessian sergeant, languished in jail during November awaiting his fate.[89] To the weekly report of the provost adjutant-general of November 15, 1779, is added the remark "wish to have him back." Kelley's incarceration continued, however, as is attested by reports of November 29, December 6 and 13.

Perhaps it was with a view to giving his undivided attention to his regiment that Rawdon resigned the office of adjutant-general in October.[90] In line with this determination he forwarded to Clinton on October 23 a complete list of the officers under his command, with data in regard to their previous rank and attachment, and observed that he had always sought men who would give serious attention to discipline. Whether he had erred in his judgement the state of the corps must decide.[91]

Rawdon's attachment to his regiment is brought out in a series of communications to Major Andre, the ill-starred deputy adjutant-general. Writing from Flag Staff, Staten Island, on December 4,[92] and touching on Clinton's orders of two days previous that "a Captain's Detachment of my Regiment should hold themselves in readiness to march on shortest notice," Rawdon promises "they shall be ready whenever called for;" but he would like "a distinct idea" of the probable duration of the enterprise, for, as he does not know whether they should march light or are to carry "their necessaries with them," he may easily send them ill equipped for the service expected of them. Three days later in a letter[93] which he insists is not addressed to Andre in his official capacity, Rawdon indulges in eight pages of objections to the sending of a detachment of his men "elsewhere and

[87] *Ibid.*, November 14-21, 1779.

[88] *Ibid.*, November 24-December 4, 1779.

[89] *Ibid.*, Weekly state of the Provost . . . November 8, 15, 22, 1779.

[90] Sir John Fortescue, ed., *Correspondence of King George III*, (London, 1927-1928), IV, 2802, p. 462. Lord George Germain to the king.

[91] This list is given in note 53.

[92] Clinton Papers, Rawdon to Major Andre, December 4, 1779.

[93] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Major Andre, December 7, 1779.

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under another commander." Such procedure threatens the welfare of his regiment already weakened by illness—"I return 129 sick; and my numbers are daily diminished by death." Is he presumptuous in expecting to be "at the Head of as complete a battalion as any partisan . . . can pretend to?" Someone plots the dispersal of his men. The identity of the villain he "can easily guess," for when he was adjutant-general this very idea was suggested to him but rejected as "an unjust and invidious measure," very detrimental to the service. Lest he "be thought wanton" Rawdon begs Andre to reflect to what expense he has been put to form a creditable corps and how this expectation is now jeopardized. To these sources alone could his reluctance to comply with Clinton's orders be ascribed. Andre may have discussed the situation with Clinton. At any rate, the commander-in-chief countermanded the order, whereupon Rawdon urged Andre[94] to make his "acknowledgement" to the commander-in-chief, assuring Andre that he would "study to get the Corps into such Order as shall prove that his Excellency's indulgence was not misplaced." In conclusion Rawdon tendered his thanks likewise to Andre.

The flourishing condition of Rawdon's regiment may well have been due to his exertion, for his group stood out as exceptional among the provincials. Early in November the inspector-general of provincial forces, Alexander Innes, testified [95] that many of these units were so weak that in the interest of economy and efficiency it would be necessary to reduce their number by merging the weakest of them with others. Even Clinton expressed to Germain[96] his regret and chagrin over the complete failure of some of these groups and the meagre achievement of others, so that he was disinclined to undertake or approve any more ventures of the kind. By contrast Rawdon's group flourished and he conceived the idea of raising a second battalion. After securing Clinton's permission the ambitious colonel consulted Innes on the implementing of his desire.[97] Though sanguine over prospects he foresaw the expense to be incurred by himself, and for this reason he stipulated that the second battalion should never be detached from the first, that both were to function as one regiment, that the second alone was to recruit for the present, that Rawdon should

[94] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Andre, December 11, 1779.

[95] *Ibid.*, Report of Alexander Innes, Inspector general provincial forces.

[96] *Ibid.*, Clinton to Germain, December 15, 1779.

[97] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Innes, December 18, 1779.

be at liberty to transfer men from one group to the other, and both groups were at all times to be kept as close as circumstances permitted. Details such as the number and rank of the officers of the proposed addition were not overlooked. Adverting to the number of provincial corps that have really no prospect of attaining completion Rawdon suggested that as these groups were "loaded" with officers "many of them Irish," who, under the circumstances are "without interest, without connections and without money" to expand their units, such officers "might be removed to Commissions of similar rank in my new Battalion." For example, Captain Campbell might be major.

Apparently Rawdon lost no time in carrying out his plans. Only three days later he advised Andre[98] that William Parks of the Volunteers was eager to go "into the Country in order to entice Men from the Rebel Service to join me." Rawdon vouched for Parks' fidelity and observed that his "connection with the Inhabitants of New Jersey" made his venture less hazardous than it otherwise would be.

Carried away by his enthusiasm and ambition Rawdon's judgement was failing him in this matter of expanding his regiment. His hopes were soon dissipated by Clinton who could not brook such restrictions on his freedom of action as Rawdon's terms to Innes implied. Clinton acted promptly, and the forthright declaration that he "could not think of entering into conditions respecting the raising of a Second Battalion of the Volunteers of Ireland" brought Rawdon to his senses.[99] To a soldier the reasonableness, even the necessity, of Clinton's stand was apparent, and yet, frustrated hopes urged Rawdon to indulge in a defence of his conduct to Innes wherein he contended that in view of the expense he would have incurred "what I proposed was . . . but an equitable ballance." Regretfully he declined to undertake the raising of a second battalion "upon the footing on which I apprehend it is to be now offered to me"—it would only bring heartaches. Rather he would raise the company of his command "to as high an establishment as possible." Bewailing his losses by death "since we came to this ground" he would continue to recruit, and his past success in this respect gave hopes of "repairing the deficiency."[100]

(To be continued)

[98] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Andre, December 21, 1779.

[99] *Ibid.*, Rawdon to Colonel Innes, December 24, 1779.

[100] An undated report of Andre in the Clinton Papers, assigned tentatively to 1788, reads: "D(uty) 430. E(established) 560," thus revealing a rather startling proportion of men unqualified for duty for one reason or another.

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BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Writings of Saint Augustine. Volume 1. Translated by Ludwig Schopp, D. J. Kavanagh, R. P. Russell, and T. F. Gilligan. [Fathers of the Church. A New Translation.] (New York: Cima Publishing Co. 1948. Pp. 450. $4.50.)

Writings of Saint Augustine. Volume 2. Translated by Ludwig Schopp, J. J. McMahon, R. C. Taliaferro, L. Meagher, R. J. Deferrari, and M. F. McDonald. [Fathers of the Church. A New Translation.] (New York: Cima Publishing Co. 1947. Pp. 489. $4.00.)

In these two volumes the entire extant philosophical work of the sainted Bishop of Hippo (with the sole exception of the treatise *De magistro*) is made available in English. Volume I contains the four tracts—*De beata vita, Contra academicos, De ordine* and *Soliloquia*—which were composed at Cassiciacum, near Milan, between November, 386 and early 387, just prior to Augustine's baptism. The second volume provides translations of *De immortalitate animae* (written at Milan, March-April, 387), *De quantitate animae* (done at Rome later in 387 or in 388), and *De musica* (commenced at Milan in 387 but finished in Africa after 391). The remaining two treatises of the volume are of polemic or dogmatic nature: *De utilitate credendi,* composed c. 391 and directed against the Manichaeans, and *De fide rerum quae non videntur,* which seems to have been preached as a sermon, possibly after 399.

The five treatises of the second volume are newly translated for this series; those of the first volume have appeared individually between 1939 and 1943. Of these latter, Dr. Schopp's version of the *De beata vita* is now based upon Schmaus' critical edition of 1931 rather than upon the Migne text, as was previously the case. It is to be regretted that Father Russell has not seen fit to employ Knöll's 1922 text (CSEL 63) of *De ordine* in place of the older Benedictine edition.

Those acquainted with this series will know that its notes tend to be popular in character and are kept to a minimum. The brief introductions to the individual treatises are ordinarily adequate enough for the non-specialist. However, in this case, Volume I carries a twenty-page foreword which can hardly be called a model of its kind. For one thing, something should have been said about the use of the dialogue as a literary form among the ancients; for another, references should have been provided for the quotations gathered on page 23.

Though lacking the brilliance found in the patristic renderings of Walter Shewring's *Rich and Poor in Christian Tradition* (London, 1948), the translations here given range from fair to good. Yet some awkward

passages do show up. This reviewer has noted among the more glaring these phrases from Schopp's *De beata vita:* "For, what mountain does reason wish those that strive toward philosophy . . . more to dread than the proud study of vain glory . . ." (p. 46), which is a too literal version of "nam quem montem alium vult intellegi ratio propinquantibus ad philosophiam . . . metuendum nisi superbum studium inanissimae gloriae," and quite overlooks the point that *"studium"* has the meaning of "pursuit" rather than of "study." Also, "while your thoughts are directed toward God, since I did not intend to disregard your minds, as oracles, so to speak, let us examine . . ." (p. 79), may render the single words of "ergo quia mentes vestras, . . . cum intenti estis in deum, velut quaedam oracula non contemnere statui, videamus . . . ," but scarcely makes sense in English.

HENRY G. J. BECK

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The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204. By George Every, S.S.M. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. xviii, 212. $3.00.)

This book sketches the formation of the Byzantine Church and treats at some length the reasons for the eastern schism and the date at which it began. It is in the latter portion (Chapter XII to XIII) that the author presents the fruits of his own research. The author shows that the schism did not originate with Patriarch Michael Cerularius. He proves that for at least a century and a half after 1054 Kiev, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria remained in union with both Rome and Constantinople and did not exclude adherents of either see. He maintains that the eastern schism did not begin until after the fourth crusade. He argues, however, that the Latin occupation, despite the bitterness it engendered, did not cause but merely occasioned the final rift; it brought into focus for the Greeks the fundamental incompatibility between their conception of the autocephalous national church and the Roman idea of the primacy. All this is convincing and solid and constitutes a significant contribution to the subject.

The first part, the survey from Chalcedon to Cerularius, though not so important, offers much that is interesting and stimulating. It presents a vivid picture of the Byzantine social and religious outlook, a clear-cut description of the cultural background of the iconoclastic controversy, and a new (but to me not entirely convincing) interpretation of Cerularius' policy. One could wish that the writer had acquainted himself better with theology. He makes grave errors: he identifies *substantia* with *hypostasis* (p. 87), the counterpart of *persona* in the Greek trinitarian formula; he does not perceive that the assertion of three wills in Christ, two for the

natures and one for the hypostasis, was the sheerest conceivable nonsense (p. 77); he accepts the long-discredited notion that the dogma of the primacy was founded largely on forged documents (pp. 53, 116); he subscribes unreservedly to Photius, rejection of the *filioque*, without realizing that it broke completely and violently with the whole of Christian tradition and went dead against the unanimous teaching of the fathers, both Greek and Latin.

Since theology inevitably looms large in any sketch of the Byzantine patriarchate, these mistakes detract considerably from the value of the work in its earlier part (Chapters I to XI) and shake our confidence in its conclusion (Chapter XIV), the validity of which depends so much on Photius' erroneous criticism of the *filioque*. They do not seriously affect the section dealing with the beginning of the eastern schism. This is a valuable and enduring contribution. The maps are a welcome addition to the text and the plates excellent in choice and execution.

MARTIN J. HIGGINS

The Catholic University of America

St. Anthony of Padua. Doctor of the Church Universal. By Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1948. Pp. xiv, 209. $3.75.)

If we may reverently say so, St. Anthony has suffered from his miracles. They have made him such a saint of the people that his learning has been largely lost sight of. The declaration by Pius XII of St. Anthony as a doctor of the Church on January 16, 1946, surprised the world and set it examining his learning. This is the occasion of the present work. The author, an associate professor of church history in the Catholic University of America and also a lecturer in Franciscan Sources at the Franciscan Institute of St. Bonaventure's College, is well fitted for the task. He brings to it sure scholarship and the affection of a son of St. Francis for one of the great glories of his order; hence a work both solid and warm with devotion.

After a brief chapter on the prerequisites of a doctor of the Church and another giving a short critical life of the saint, the author has two long and rich chapters on the saint's theological teaching and sermons. In the former Father Huber shows St. Anthony's treatment of christology, mariology, and ecclesiology. The selections he gives will make the reader desirous to read more of this beautiful theology. Then follow chapters dealing with the authentic and the spurious writings of the saint, the authentic sources of his life, and finally an evaluation of Anthonian literature. To give us a taste of the sermons of St. Anthony, three of them are given in the original Latin. The bibliography is a fine bit of work

covering thirty-five pages, a complete guide for further studies on the saint. Each chapter is well documented and the work is rendered more useful by an adequate index.

In a work where so much is given it would be strange if there were not some slips. The present reviewer noticed "écletantes" for "éclatantes" (p. 17, n. 1), "works" for "words" (p. 57), "capitol" for "capital" (p. 109). "Emmanuel de Azevedo" is spelled in three different ways on pages 157 and 159. On pages 26, 27, and 51 the author states that St. Anthony treated of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. However, one gets the impression that the author has read too much into the extracts he gives, which would seem to indicate rather a devotion to the Sacred Wounds of Christ. Certainly, there is no indication of devotion to the Sacred Heart as it is today officially recognized by the Church. All these criticisms in no way derogate from the fine synthesis given us by the author of all that is known about St. Anthony of Padua.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

Alma College

The Origins of the Great Schism. A Study in 14th Century Ecclesiastical History. By Walter Ullmann. (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne Ltd. 1948. Pp. xiii, 244, 18s.)

Dr. Ullmann's scholarly study covers the election of Urban, the withdrawal of the cardinals to Anagni, and the subsequent election of Clement, the conflicting arguments of the Urbanists and the Clementine party, the division of Europe and, in particular, the reaction in England, and the opinion of legal experts, notably those of Baldus de Ubaldis and of Cardinal Zabarella. The author largely establishes the following conclusions: that nationalism played a negligible role in the appearance of the schism; that the pressure of the Roman mob which demanded a Roman Pope was not sufficiently menacing to have influenced the cardinals, who, in any event, had virtually agreed upon the Archbishop of Bari as a compromise candidate before the conclave got under way; that the cardinals chose Urban because they felt he would make a capable ruler, and that they only prepared to repudiate him when they found him unsuitable; that his unsuitability consisted chiefly in the decision to conduct affairs of the Church independently of the College of Cardinals; that, as a consequence, monarchy versus oligarchy was the real issue of the schism.

Among the documentary evidence which Professor Ullmann marshals to substantiate this last point is the revealing statement by the Cardinal of Geneva (later Clement VII) to Urban, that "Unlike your predecessors, Holy Father, you do not treat the cardinals with that honour which you

owe to them. You are diminishing our authority, but verily I tell you that we will do our best to diminish yours" (p. 48). Equally damning are the words of Peter Cardinal de Luna (later the anti-Pope Benedict XIII) that "if he had not behaved in this manner, we would all still be with him, but he turned everything upside down through his violence."

Dr. Ullmann's study provides a glimpse into the low character of the Sacred College which had no more redeeming quality to offer as offsetting the venality and lasciviousness of its members than a certain gentility sprung from wealth and aristocratic background. The author suggests that it may have been this social superiority as cherished by the high-born cardinals and resented by the lowly Urban that was the root cause of the bitter rift that widened between them. He doubts that it was his reforms, for "Urban's own nepotism . . ., his favouritism . . ., his private handling of the cardinals at Nocera [all but one mysteriously disappeared], and many other items of a questionable character, prove amply that not a single step did he take in the direction of radical reform. The cardinals themselves could not fail to see that Urban's avowals of reform were not to be taken at their face value. . . ." (p. 171).

Dr. Ullmann handles skillfully the arguments of the leading jurists of the time. Baldus de Ubaldis, "the most famous jurist of the day" according to Rashdall (p. 144), gave a verdict in favor of Urban which was based significantly on facts as described by the cardinals. Of the proposed methods advanced by publicists and canonists for ending the schism, such as those of Conrad of Gelnhausen and Cardinal Zabarella, none, including that finally employed at Constance, escapes the author's judgment of extra-legal or illegal. Since he himself posits no way out, one wonders how that woeful situation might have been resolved short of a *deus ex machina.*

JOSEPH H. DAHMUS

Pennsylvania State College

Lettres et pages inédites de Mgr. Gerbet. By Mgr. de Leobet, Archêveque d' Avignon. (Paris: Emmanuel Vitte, Éditeur. 1948. Pp. 274. 320 fr.)

Historians of French Catholicism in the nineteenth century may very profitably consult this collection of unpublished papers, gathered by the patient and devout fervor of Archbishop de Leobet. Some of these letters have a real historical value. I would especially mention a rather curious one dated June 15, 1834, in which, two years after the encyclical *Mirari vos* the future Bishop of Perpignan is supposed to have enthusiastically commended the *Paroles d'un croyant* which Lamennais had just published. The authenticity of this document is, however, doubtful and Archbishop de Leobet does not vouch for it. Monseigneur Gerbet was not

the kind of man who would have rebelled against the authority of the Church and I can hardly imagine him in 1834 still siding with Lamennais whom later he was mercilessly to condemn.

His life was, indeed, more inspired by genuine prudence than by rash impulsion. For a while, it is true, he fell under the magnetic spell of Lamennais and participated in the famous meetings of La Chesnaie, the "Port-Royal of the nineteenth century," as it was so appropriately called. But the break with the Vatican soon ended the relations between the two men. Thereafter Gerbet was only interested in fully orthodox views and went on fighting for Catholicism with quiet cheerfulness. His state of mind can be felt in everything he wrote, from these letters to his well *known Esquisse de la Rome chrétienne*. The end of his life came in 1864 when he was Bishop of Perpignan. He owed this appointment to Napoleon III, whose coup d'état he had warmly acclaimed in 1851 "as a solution arranged by Providence to liberate France from an inextricable situation."

"The sweetest and most sensitive of men," said Maurice de Guérin in speaking of Bishop Gerbet, it was a remark that seems quite fitting in reading this collection of letters, the thoughts and expression of which are never forceful but always generous. Archbishop de Leobet defines him along the same lines, by mentioning, with an admirable psychology, "his crippled will," "his weak but charming nature," "his poetical mind." Indeed, he was so utterly different from Lamennais that their temporary friendship is almost incomprehensible. The book will, nevertheless, keep alive Gerbet's name as a striking symbol of the fascination which for a while the perverse author of *Les paroles d'un croyant* exerted on French Catholicism.

ROBERT LACOUR-GAYET

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The First Freedom. Considerations on Church and State in the United States. By Wilfrid Parsons, S.J. (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co., Inc. 1948. Pp. xii, 178. $2.25.)

More than two decades ago James Montgomery Beck wrote a book on *The Vanishing Rights of the States.* He pointed out the manner in which legislation by judicial interpretation was bringing to pass an absorption of the functions of the several states into those of an increasingly powerful national administration. The historian will decide the extent to which the states' rights were diminished as a result of the constructions of the law made by the Supreme Court in the period to which Beck related his

study. The historian will also be best able to decide whether the decline in states' rights was good or bad, for weal or for woe.

Father Parsons' book suggests the possibility that we are now confronted with a problem of the vanishing rights of the family. The rights of the several states are largely legal and in a sense conventional and arbitrary; those of the family are essential, natural, and fundamental. If there be any reason for fear that judicial interpretation may be diminishing, let alone destroying the rights of the family, then the time for debate and decision is *now*. A nation can remain democratic and reasonably healthy in its freedom even though its component departments, provinces, or states be absorbed into a more compact and unitary national state. But if history proves anything beyond the possibility of reasonable argument, it proves that a blow struck at the rights of the family is a blow at democracy itself. The denial of the rights of the family today means the denial of all democracy tomorrow. Nazism proved that; so did fascism; so does communism.

Father Parsons' book carries with it grounds for fear that such a process is underway and that the rights of the family on the important level of child education are vanishing before the rise of a state school system being fostered and furthered by legal interpretation which amounts to legislation. The author begins his argument by a skillful, historical analysis of the meaning of the first amendment, not in the light of Madison's *Memorial and Remonstrance*, which seems to have become the routine approach, but in relation to the actual discussions on the amendment and the meaning of "establishment" at that time in the separate states. Whatever may be the present opinions of the interpreters of our laws, it is clearly evident that the men who wrote those laws intended only to exclude the preferential support of a particular religious denomination by the organs of government. Once the historical facts are determined in this matter the question is a simple one. Is it the function of the court to arrive at the fixed construction of the law by a consideration of the minds of the legislators and their intention in passing it, or should they more properly acknowledge an evolution of events requiring a corresponding evolution in the meaning of the law? If we choose the latter we may find our traditional jurisprudence replaced by a new kind of sociological jurisprudence equivalent to law-making. In this unhappy eventuality we are faced with the highly authoritarian arrangement of a non-elected legislature from which there is no appeal. If the rights of the family are compromised here we are very nearly doomed.

Father Parsons, of course, would be the last to pretend that his book provides the final word on the present dangers at the hands of the Supreme Court of "the first freedom." Rather, the most important function that his study will eventually prove to have fulfilled is that of posing a question

which must be answered in much greater detail and with much more cogency than proved possible in this first book written by a Catholic on the issues involved in recent Supreme Court decisions. The question is whether the Supreme Court is within its competence in defining the special nature of the church, whether it is free to present as the national interpretation one definite sectarian ecclesiology, whether in short the court may "establish" one particular religion. It is singularly lamentable but quite beside the point that the nature of the church so canonized in recent decisions is that of a single school of liberal Protestantism which is almost exactly equivalent to present-day secularism. The first amendment which had for its original intention the protection of all religion and its freedom to influence society, now is used for the preferment of one religious viewpoint and the consequent penalizing of all others. The Supreme Court of the United States, unwittingly, perhaps, but nonetheless surely, has handed down a theological decision and it is not strange that its competence in this field should be questioned.

The answers that must be provided to these and similar questionings will not be arrived at by rhetoric, certainly not by diatribe or invective, and least of all by challenging the integrity or legal competence of the courts. The Catholic analysis of this problem and the Catholic contribution to the safeguarding of the vanishing rights of the family must be made by skilled lawyers, erudite historians, sensitive philosophers, and alert educators. These must take up the issues which Father Parsons has raised in his work and must help settle them with competence and clarity. The author's work is evidence that Catholic scholarship is available to make an important contribution to the resolution of what may otherwise become America's most unfortunate problem. So is the article on the Supreme Court decisions which appeared in *Thought* from the pen of the distinguished non-Catholic constitutional authority Professor Edward S. Corwin. So are the several learned studies that have appeared or are promised in the various law journals since the McCollum decision of March, 1948.

The future of faith and freedom in the United States may well depend on how well Catholic legal authorities and historians meet the challenge of the vanishing rights of the family. It will not be easy to expose the latent despotism in the secular philosophy which inspires recent Supreme Court decisions or school questions. Part of the difficulty arises from the fact that those who defend in good faith the Supreme Court's position do so, in part at least, because they honestly believe that the school system they have in mind is the best bulwark against tyranny. One is reminded of the cynical remark of Huey Long when he was asked if fascism would ever come to the United States. "Sure it will," said Huey, "but when it

does we will call it anti-Fascism!" While our constitutional front door is locked against tyranny we must be careful that our juridical back door is not left ajar.

JOHN J. WRIGHT
Auxiliary Bishop of Boston

Separation of Church and State in the United States. By Alvin W. Johnson and Frank H. Yost. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. 279. $4.50.)

Alvin W. Johnson, minister, historian, and theologian, was awarded his doctor's degree by the University of Minnesota and published through its press, *The Legal Status of Church-State Relationships in the United States* (1934). Since that time, he has advanced to the presidency of his initial alma mater, Missionary College of Berrien Springs, Michigan, and has revised and enlarged his original work, with the assistance of Frank H. Yost, associate secretary of the Religious Liberty Association, under the title of *Separation of Church and State in the United States.* Detached and definitive scholarship may be somewhat slanted and colored, for both authors are associated, intimately, with Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, which has a very definite platform of avowed native Americanism on an assumed level of superior citizenship and righteousness.

Obviously these two well-informed ministers do not stand for absolute separation of Church and State, at least in practise. Otherwise they would hesitate to publish this study through a state university press which has some relationship to taxpayers of all denominations, sects, and shades of religious or irreligious opinion. Not that this writer would regard the publication as breaching the wall of separation between the Church and the State of Minnesota to the serious detriment of the first and fourteenth amendments or in subversion of the state constitution. Be this as it may, the two religious writers have compiled one of the best current keys to the relationship of Church and State and of religion to the State in this land of 256 religious sects. It is not more than a key via secondary and popular historical material, to a large number of cases, federal and state, and to a considerable volume of denominational literature. Aside from an obvious slant and the jumpy touching upon many items, often quite unconnected and naturally undeveloped, there is little to criticize in a brief review whereas there might be much to doubt, to rewrite, and to refute in a book-length study and an, admittedly, definitive treatise, utilizing the same material and reading with different spectacles of controversy.

The subject is impossibly large and certainly one of the most important subjects in the development of the American polity and the "story of

religions" in these United States where secularism has demoted church history and deprived the citizenry of knowledge of the contributions of Christianity to contemporary culture, learning, and freedom. The Church-State relationship runs into every nook of American life, every controversy, inter-church relationships, minority problems, politics, changing interpretations of the federal and state constitutions, the shifting demands and viewpoints of denominations, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, educational politics and controversies, the relations of labor and management, and assuredly international relations. Economic questions cannot be divorced from moral and hence from Christian thinking. From the Mayflower Compact to the Atlantic Pact, religion and the churches have influenced every movement in the life of our people whether citizens, individually appreciate this or not. Church and State must manage together in their proper spheres without absolute divorce and the neglect of their joint offspring.

Anyone interested in this general relationship, whatever his school of thought, cannot ignore this study and especially its citations, even though they may omit some interpretive material. There are chapters on Bible reading in the public schools, dismissed and released time, public aid to sectarian schools, religious garb in public schools, extent of parental control, compulsory school attendance, free textbooks for private schools, free transportation to private schools, anti-evolution laws, saluting the flag, citizenship and bearing arms, religion and freedom of the press, religion and freedom of speech. Cases innumerable have come out of these controversies. Not always have the religious contestants been as well fortified by historical and legal learning as big business would be in similar vital issues under the fourteenth amendment when it would command talent of challenging voice before the highest federal and state courts.

RICHARD J. PURCELL

The Catholic University of America

No Greater Service. The History of the Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945. By Sister M. Rosalita, I.H.M. (Monroe, Michigan: Publications Office, St. Mary's. 1948. Pp. xx, 863; xiii, 299.)

Achievement of a Century. The Motherhouse and Missions, Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945. Edited by Sister M. Rosalita, I.H.M. (Monroe, Michigan: Publications Office, St. Mary's. 1948. Pp. xx, 863; xiii, 299. $15.00 per set.)

A three-fold purpose inspired this centennial history. First there was the desire to impress on the sisters of today a realization of the "effort that went into the building of the Congregation of which they are members." A second objective was providing documentary evidence for the clarification of certain mooted questions and involved situations in the history of the congregation. Lastly, since the *raison d'être* of the sisterhood is the education of youth, the chronicle of its achievement will add another chapter to the record of Catholic education in the United States. Throughout the more than 850 pages the author seems to have had her fellow religious in mind, and that may account for the inclusion of so many domestic details.

The first chapter introduces Father Louis Gillet, C.SS.R., recounts his missionary activity in Detroit and vicinity, and locates the central residence of the Redemptorists in Monroe, Michigan, in 1844. That same year a young woman, who was to become Mother Teresa, left Baltimore with two others for Monroe, where in collaboration with Gillet she made the first foundation of the Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary towards the end of the following year. As usual, extreme poverty was the lot of the infant community. A greater misfortune was the departure of the Redemptorists from Monroe in 1855, which deprived the sisters temporarily of all but casual and chance spiritual ministration. Relief came in 1857, but with it came encroachment on the autonomy of the sisterhood in the person of a resident spiritual director who, as quasi-superior, enjoyed vast and undefined powers, a situation that would persist until after the turn of the century. In 1858 the youthful community expanded into Pennsylvania, a move undertaken by Mother Teresa in apparent good faith, but the Bishop of Detroit regarded her action as disregard and defiance of his authority. In indignation he decreed the separation of the two communities, even to the extent of prohibiting correspondence between the two groups. Many causes contributed to this calamity, chief among them being the indefiniteness of both canon law and the rule of the congregation relative to episcopal authority over such a community. A supplementary factor was the clash of two strong personalities, with indiscretion and display of temper and human weakness by both parties. And the tense situation was aggravated by the astonishing measures taken by Mother Teresa to secure readmission to the Michigan branch of the congregation of which she was co-founder. Despite her efforts Bishop Peter P. Lefevere remained adamant in his refusal to comply with her desire.

When this storm had largely spent itself, to forestall a recurrence of such grave misunderstanding, a revision of the rule was made by the spiritual director and promptly given episcopal approval. A controversial feature of the rule was the all-embracing power of the spiritual director,

which made him supreme in the governance of the religious. While Bishop Lefevere approved of this arrangement, his successor, Bishop Caspar H. Borgess, did not and the latter's view was upheld when Roman examiners scrutinized the rule in 1885 and objected to this and many other provisions. As long as Monsignor Joos lived he remained superior and spiritual director, but after his death in 1901 Bishop John S. Foley committed full autonomy to the sisters themselves and restricted the spiritual director—for ten years a Redemptorist—to spiritual guidance and supervision. Mother Mechtildis was the first general superior with full powers of office. Once again revision of the constitution and rule was undertaken, and the revised form won Rome's approval on November 10, 1913, for a trial period of seven years. Since this probation proved satisfactory, final and definitive approbation was given on July 26, 1920, seventy-five years after the original founding. Another milestone in the administration of Mother Mechtildis was the decision to offer the sisters opportunity for university studies and degrees.

Stark disaster struck the congregation on June 3, 1929, when St. Mary's College in Monroe was destroyed by fire. However, seven years before property had been purchased in the environs of Detroit and here on September 19, 1927, classes were opened in Marygrove College. On the heels of the burning of St. Mary's, the congregation, now in charge of parochial schools throughout Michigan, faced and weathered the storm raised by bigots who campaigned for the suppression of non-public schools. With victory achieved the congregation of the I.H.M. faced the future with courage and high hopes. *Ad multos annos!*

The format of this book is open to criticism. A book that weighs well over four pounds cannot be read with ease or convenience. This drawback could have been obviated by making two volumes of the one. Better still, both ease in handling and a greatly improved narrative could have been secured, if the author had weighed all that a decade and more of research had unearthed and accumulated, determined its relevancy to the central theme, and then, with the heroic restraint demanded of a scholar, had omitted the superfluous and irrelevant, however interesting in itself, and compressed the less significant and entombed it in the comparative obscurity of footnotes. Again and again the thread of the narrative is broken by excursions into fields unnecessary to an understanding of the central theme. For example, there seems to be no warrant for the excursus into the history of Savoy and of each Cistercian community in which Father Gillet lived after he severed connection with the Redemptorists. Similarly, a footnote would have sufficed for the history of the land on which Marygrove stands, and footnotes could likewise have been used for the statistics of the growth of each foundation and the biographical data of those who entered the congregation in its infancy. Moreover, only a few

of the numerous excerpts from addresses and instructions merit quotation because of their originality or importance to the central theme of the book. In short, in a book not restricted to the exclusive use of the sisters, there is altogether too much that lacks general appeal; there are too many trivia and commonplace events of doubtful interest to anyone. Yet, despite these patent limitations of *No Greater Service* and *Achievement of a Century,* the members of the congregation, their relatives, alumnae and friends, can turn to them for trustworthy information on the formation and growth of the Immaculate Heart of Mary Congregation in its first century of activity.

CHARLES H. METZGER

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Souvenirs. Volume IV. *Une hérésie fantôme: L'Américanisme.* By Abbé Félix Klein, Professeur honoraire à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. (Paris: Librairie Plon. 1949. Pp. 447. 450 frs.)

Although this book adds nothing substantial to what has already been published, it does reflect the mind of one of the principal figures in an international drama of considerable political and ecclesiastical significance —and he is the only principal figure from whom we may now hope to receive personal reminiscences. The book is important also, because it summarizes the views of "progressive" French Catholics as to outstanding events which preceded, provoked, and resulted from a great controversy. Again, it has value because it presents some significant correspondence for the first time, and because it contains a long, although not exhaustive, selection of comments on the dispute from weeklies, monthlies, and quarterlies on both sides of the Atlantic.

The chief features of the Americanism controversy have been outlined by Thomas T. McAvoy and Vincent F. Holden in the July, 1945, issue of the *Catholic Historical Review.* Klein's story begins with a description of the incidents preceding the publication of the French translation of Father Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker* and of the part Klein himself played in editing the book and writing the preface. The author tells of the welcome the work received and of the acclaim accorded Hecker as an ideal priest for modern times, a farsighted, broadminded thinker, held in reverent admiration by the more advanced prelates of the United States. A few months later Denis O'Connell, rector of the American College, Rome, made Hecker's ideas the topic of his address to the Fourth International Congress of Catholic Savants in Fribourg. Thereupon Bishop Turinaz of Nancy charged that Hecker had exaggerated the role of personal initiative in religion and had stresssed the inner guidance of the Holy Spirit at the expense of Church authority. Klein replied to the

bishop; the fight was on; new issues were raised; disputes were carried on in French, German, Italian, English, American periodicals. By the time the papal letter, *Testem benevolentiae,* quieted the controversy in January, 1899, a painful series of events had taken place; and the lengths to which some panic-stricken critics went may be measured in Delassus' *L'Américanisme et la conjuration antichrétienne,* where the "Americanists" are represented as conspiring with the promoters of Masonry and Semitism to destroy existing forms of government and to emasculate Christianity of its supernatural elements.

Before passing judgment on the extreme conservatives, however, one should take into account the atmosphere of the time. In the closing years of the nineteenth century France was witnessing the dawn of a new era: Catholic leaders had endorsed the Republic; the Masonic Grand Orient had undertaken "to crush Roman Catholicism in France"; Zola was stirring the world with his anti-clerical trilogy; the largely Jewish friends of Dreyfus were winning their fight against an opposition largely Catholic; the government was bearing down on Catholic schools and religious orders; Duchesne had upset ancient cherished traditions; Loisy, the Scripture expert, was alarming Catholic scholars; ex-Abbé Charbonnel had associated himself with a proposed parliament of religions favored by the "progressives."

These disturbing phenomena were observed against an alarming background overseas, where the western hemisphere was dominated by the United States, a nation mainly Protestant, strongly Masonic, and engaged in converting public education into a naturalistic jungle. The French knew that some members of the American hierarchy looked with little favor on Gibbons, on Ireland, and on Keane. Gibbons had intervened to reverse the judgment of the Holy Office against a secret society, the Knights of Labor, in Rome; Ireland had championed novel ideas about Catholic education; Keane had "fraternized" with Protestants and atheists at the Chicago Parliament of Religions. These and other extenuating circumstances may be gathered from *Naturalism in American Education* by Geoffrey O'Connell, the *Life of Cardinal Gibbons* by Allen Sinclair Will, *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents* by Frederick J. Zwierlein, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America* by John Tracy Ellis, and "Growing Pains in the American Catholic Church: 1800-1908" by John J. Meng [*Historical Records and Studies,* XXXVI (1947) 17-67].

A sensitive and favorably placed observer, a gifted writer, Klein threads his way skillfully through a tangled maze, communicating successfully the sense of a remote day when many in France regarded the United States as we at present regard the Soviet Union—headquarters of a world power bent on annihilating our civilization. He records—and he documents—

amazing statements that reveal the deep suspicion and the relentless hostility of churchmen who believed that they were defending the faith against tricky, unscrupulous, daring enemies. Recalling without rancor episodes that must have hurt deeply, he devotes himself to proving that neither he nor his associates were heterodox or disloyal. Périès, perhaps, he finds it hardest to forgive. As we go through the book, Keane and O'Connell come to life in their letters. We get a good look at Elliott's appealing, impressive figure. We see less of Ireland; but we have the story that when told of Elliott's daily prayer for Maignen, the archbishop replied, "Elliott's a better man than I am; as for me, I send Maignen to the devil every day."

From the historical point of view the book is in many places too highly personal and too thinly drawn out. The lack of an index is serious. Dates are omitted, notably in the quotations from periodical literature. When quoting from Elliott's *Life*, the author gives references not to the original text, but to the (adapted) translation. It would have been better to describe Elliott by mentioning his two books on the life of Christ, his volume on the spiritual life, his several collections of conferences and sermons rather than by referring to his "grand ouvrage sur Tauler," actually only a translation of Tauler's sermons with an introduction. Moreover, "Georges" Blondel should, of course, be "Maurice" Blondel. But we must remember that the abbé has been working alone at the age of eighty-seven, after having gone through two world wars. He acknowledges that he provoked *Etudes* by naming that magazine while it was still preserving discreet silence; and he shows his letter—drafted but not sent—which might have been turned into a charge of mendacity against Mariano Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State. The book closes with the message that Pope Leo XIII sent to Cardinal Gibbons in April, 1902, recalling with gratitude the progress made by the Church in the United States during his pontificate.

The abbé hints that he has some material still to be added to the story. Too bad it was not included here so that we might have the complete account in a single volume! Even without those additional data, however, the book is a helpful contribution to the still unwritten history of the Church in the United States, which must take account of the material here presented. Of this history some portions have already been written; some are now under way. Ellis is doing Gibbons; his students, Ahern and Hogan, have just published monographs on the rectorships of Keane and Conaty, and another study is now nearing completion on O'Connell. But sources have not yet been explored with the kind of thoroughness that we associate with Pastor's search of the Vatican Archives; and the definitive history is a long way off. The full correspondence of Ireland

and Spalding, for example, remains still undiscovered. Difficult tasks are necessary preliminaries to the complete history of the American Church in the second half of the nineteenth century and incidentally to an adequate life of Hecker—which will have to be much fuller than the biography that touched off the explosion reverberating in this volume dedicated by Klein, "a la mémoire du Cardinal Gibbons et du Sulpicien Hogan."

JOSEPH MCSORLEY

Church of St. Paul the Apostle
New York City

The College of Notre Dame of Maryland, 1895-1945. By Sister Mary David Cameron, S.S.N.D. (New York: Declan X. McMullen Co. 1947. Pp. xiv, 219. $3.00.)

Baltimoreans have often been accused of knowing little and caring less about their famous Johns Hopkins University and Hospital. What the great medical school on Broadway has meant to the human race, what goes on in the lecture halls of the University at Homewood seem to mean little to the workaday citizens who ride their buses and cars or walk the streets around these two great centers of learning and research.

In much the same way Baltimore has been too little aware of the oldest Catholic women's college in the United States which has flourished in its midst for half a century. Thousands daily stream past the grounds, but they know next to nothing about the richness of religious and intellectual life beyond the familiar archway reading "Notre Dame of Maryland." Sister David's little book gives the reader a charming picture of life in a school. It is not a rehash of fifty catalogues cooked up as a golden jubilee yearbook. There is scholarly attention to detail and abundant documentation for her history of the college. But there is also life in the story and in the way it is told. One feels that a curtain has been drawn back and the scenes of fifty years are re-enacted before the audience.

The religious atmosphere at Notre Dame has been deep, intense, yes, even severe. One who has studied under the School Sisters of Notre Dame would expect it to be such and thank God that the hundreds of girls enrolled there had been given the same grounding in the faith as himself. The intellectual life of the college, one learns, has also been vigorous and well-rounded. Starting as it did in the days when the mention of higher education for women raised many an eyebrow, the teaching at Notre Dame has paced the flow of time and has turned out in each period young women rich in their inheritance of Catholic culture.

Sister David has built her story not around buildings but personalities. One section of the book she has called "The People." It is the most fascinating part of the whole work because therein most clearly of all are seen

the men and women who have been the college and made it what it was and is. Mother Theophilia, Cardinal Gibbons, Dr. Robinson, Fathers Ooghe and Johnston, Dr. Morrissy, Professor Odend'hal, Father Hart, Sister Frances—all these walk through the book as they walked or still walk about the halls—alive and inspiring. If one must criticize, it might be pointed out that the sections on the European and American background of the School Sisters of Notre Dame are too long as introduction to the story of the college and too brief to give an adequate history of the period. One is left wishing at the same time that the book were a history of the order and that he might get at the story of the college.

High praise should be given the writer for her scholarly footnotes and documentary appendices. Placed at the end of the volume, they give the book reliability without detracting from its readability. One cannot repress a smile, when studying the list of faculty members, at noting that a certain member of the faculty is listed as "deceased," especially when one thinks of the explosion that would result if the very vigorous little old lady should become aware that she has been officially "buried."

The book should be a treasure to Baltimoreans for its vivid recounting of a proud page in the city's Catholic history. It should also be read with interest by any other Americans who would know of the important contribution the College of Notre Dame of Maryland has made to the cultural life of the nation.

WILLIAM KAILER DUNN

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GENERAL HISTORY

Karl Marx's Interpretation of History. By M. M. Bober. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 445. $6.00.)

The first edition of this book, which appeared in 1927, was generally recognized as one of the best presentations, at least in English, of Karl Marx's historical materialism. New writings of Marx and Engels have since come to light; critics of Marx, both favorable and unfavorable, have added greatly to Marxian literature; new theories and viewpoints have been advanced in economics; historical events, especially the depression of the 1930's, have seriously affected the emphasis on, and the attitude towards, certain economic problems, notably the business cycle and economic calculation. It was time for a new edition of Dr. Bober's work, taking these new factors into consideration. The greater part of the book has been completely rewritten; scarcely a single page has escaped revision of some sort. Yet, with the same calm detachment and the same freedom from partisan spirit that marked the earlier edition, the author

arrives again at the same general conclusion, that as an explanation of man's history Marx's materialistic theory is clearly inadequate.

Two thirds of the book are devoted to a presentation of the theory based on Marx's own writings; the analysis is careful, penetrating, and objective. Only in the latter part of the book does the author proceed to an evaluation of the theory. Because it fails to do justice to the complexities of human nature, he finds it wanting as an integral explanation of human history. Dr. Bober does not lose sight of the power, originality, and acuteness of Marx; he is an extremely appreciative critic, even when he discerns gratuitous assumptions and unwarranted conclusions. Nor does he underestimate Marx's influence or his very real contribution in reminding us that material conditions do exert a vital influence in the affairs of men; but he as convincingly shows that much in human life, especially in institutions, arts, and ideas, transcends any purely economic explanation.

Historians of thought would undoubtedly have liked to see some discussion of the degree of Marx's dependence on earlier thinkers, French, English, and German, and of the historical development of Marx's thought in the course of his own lifetime. His writings are treated very much as a solid block. Yet we cannot deny Mr. Bober the right as an economist to concern himself primarily with an exposition of Marx's system such as the latter himself conceived it.

The great volume of writing on Marx during the past twenty years has not produced in English a book to replace this one. Students of the social sciences are, therefore, under a still greater obligation to the author now that he has brought his own work up to date.

GEORGE B. FLAHIFF

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MEDIAEVAL HISTORY

Mediaeval Lincoln. By J. W. F. Hill. (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. xvii, 487. $9.50.)

To the quest for material—obviously a labor of love—which he presents admirably and thoroughly in this piece of local history, the author, an attorney and a former Mayor of Lincoln, has devoted his leisure time during twenty years. The material has been collected from a wide range of sources, mediaeval and modern, original and secondary, with help and guidance from eminent living authorities on the aspects of local history in which Mr. Hill is primarily interested: topography, toponomy, and the growth of civic institutions. On every page there is painstaking documentation; accompanying each chapter are excellent maps and plates; a detailed index covers seventy-six pages. Praise is due the author for his

industry in research and his expert marshaling of evidence. In formulating conclusions, he notes with what degree of certainty or of probability they may be held; often after discussing a moot point, he leaves the problem unsolved with a frank admission of insufficient evidence.

Few cities offer a richer field to the local historian than "civitas clarissima Lincolnia," and Mr. Hill knows this field intimately. The plan he has followed, in seeking to make of Lincoln a symbol of the continuity of England's history from Roman times to the sixteenth century and beyond, is mainly chronological with additional chapters on topics of special relevance. Valuable is the basic section on the Roman pattern and the Roman legacy to the mediaeval city of roads, walls, canals, and other remains, including Newport Arch, called "the finest antiquity in the island." The expansion of the town during the Anglian and Danish periods of settlement is elucidated not only by recorded history but through a study of personal and place names; there is a convincing suggestion that the present site of the place where Deda, Abbot of Partney, and his companions were baptized by St. Paulinus (638) is Littleborough.

Evidence is adduced to show that the Christian faith, spread widely in Lindsey during the Anglian domination, was not obliterated by the Danes, who, however, imposed and maintained their own civic institutions. Important among these in the region of Lincoln were the lawmen, experts in stating and interpreting law and custom, who as a class were not disturbed by the Normans. Noteworthy is the use made by the author, with his exceptional knowledge of the land and the law, of the information supplied by the *Lincolnshire Domesday* (edited in 1924 for the Lincoln Record Society), which is of inestimable value toward understanding the policy of William I in the northern Danelaw. Significant light is thrown by this document on the land system, courts, and revenues during the eleventh century, and on the relation of these to the churches—cathedral, monastic, and parish.

When the Council of Windsor in 1072 decreed that seats of dioceses should be in walled towns, Remigius, who had been consecrated Bishop of Dorchester in 1067, transferred his see to Lincoln which became the capital of the largest diocese in England. He began at once the building of the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Lincoln's greatest glory. The transfer is rightly called by Mr. Hill the most important event in the history of Lincoln during the reign of the Conqueror. Subsequent charters on either side of 1200 show an astonishing number of grants made by humble persons, of even half an acre, "to God, St. Mary, and the Church of Lincoln"—"gifts of free peasants, with personal liberty, having the power to do what they liked with their land."

The growth of civic liberties during the succeeding centuries and the vigilance of the citizens in striving to retain rights once obtained, the

right of farming their borough through bailiffs chosen by themselves, the monopoly of foreign trade within the county, the domination of the gild by city merchants, the transfer of the burwarmote to the gildhall; finally in 1409 the right of the city to be called a county and to elect its sheriffs, with its mayor acting as the king's escheator—all this, traced in detail with solid learning, is a distinct contribution. The book will be very useful to serious students of national as well as local history, and in particular to specialists in the study of the borough. The format and printing are excellent.

LAURA KEELER

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Chapters in Western Civilization. By the Contemporary Civilization Staff of Columbia College, Columbia University. Two volumes. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 437; 299. $2.50 per volume.)

These two volumes represent the fruits of many years of experimentation by the staff of the noted Contemporary Civilization course at Columbia College. The aim of the editors is to prepare a manual that will contain the historical framework for the source materials that make up the basic matter of the course. Primarily concerned with the origins of the main political, social, economic, and cultural institutions and ideas of our own civilization and not with the whole European historical process as such, they have combined here special studies by staff members with chapters from standard works such as Randall's *The Making of the Modern Mind,* Barnes' *History of Western Civilization,* Clough and Cole's *Economic History of Western Europe* and Artz's *Reaction and Revolution.*

The first volume is grounded solidly on two chapters concerned with the mediaeval heritage. The treatment of feudalism, so often the student's bugbear, is clear and adequate. The mediaeval ideas of the supremacy of law and the limited nature of kingship are rightly emphasized and give the student a good contrast with the later theory and practice of absolute royal power. Less satisfactory is the over-all analysis of the Church—adequate enough as far as organization and administration are concerned, but weak in explanation of Christianity's success and the Church's contribution to culture.

Later chapters deal with such pertinent topics as the growth of the national state, the beginnings of modern capitalism, "the natural man of the Renaissance," and the Religious Revolt. The Catholic historian will not appreciate Randall's Renaissance man as much as Randall does, but he can admire the writer's portrayal of the type. Barnes writes competently on the broad forces that brought on the religious cleavage, but spoils the

effect by phrases such as "the obstinacy and stupidity of the Catholic leaders in resisting more moderate reform proposals," contributing in great measure to the break (I, 192). The chapter on the development of modern science, unlike most textbook accounts, is much more than a list of names, discoveries, and quotations from the scientists concerned. The same intimate acquaintance with prominent men and ideas is revealed in the chapter on the Enlightenment, though the writer's generous estimate of the contributions of the *philosophes* to modern civilization may be open to question. On the wnole the treatment of their ideas and activities seems to be on somewhat too abstract a plane and not closely enough related to the events of the period to link up the Enlightenment with the oncoming revolution in France.

The second volume opens appropriately enough with Randall's excellent chapter on Romanticism, followed by Artz's broad treatment of Europe during the early phase of the counter-revolution, 1815-1825. A real gap is left here, however, by the omission of any serious discussion of Burke and the theorists of conservatism. Competent but brief studies of economic liberalism, political liberalism, and nationalism are included. One of the most readable chapters in either volume is a later study entitled "The Impact of Darwinism," which shows by numerous references to the works and speeches of scholars, political writers, businessmen, and others how Darwin's theories were uncritically given social application. No less thorough is the presentation of later criticism of that practice. If any criticism is warranted, it is only that the writer does not stress enough how the theory of evolution as a social force continued to promote the popular myth of endless progress even after the turn of the century.

Two chapters contain respectively a broad treatment of the growth of democratic practices and a discussion of social views since 1850. The former only scratches the surface in an effort to cover the United States and Europe in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but contains some sound observations on democracy's problems. The latter is adequate for the various types of socialism and social reform groups of the period, but gives at best a very perfunctory view of the Church under Pius IX and Leo XIII. A final chapter on Europe between the two world wars is broken down into a study of culture conflicts, the failure of the international system, and an interesting and sound comparative study of modern dictators.

As the editors themselves point out, this manual suffers somewhat from a lack of unity and from repetition. To a considerable extent these deficiencies are compensated by the specialist's knowledge of a particular subject or period. In the orthodox introductory course in European history many—possibly all—of these chapters would make suitable assignments for collateral reading. Whether the manual as a whole would make a fit substitute for a regular textbook is another question—the normal text-

book demonstrates more clearly the movement of history and the interaction of historical forces.

JOHN K. ZEENDER

University of Massachusetts

The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation. By Wallace K. Ferguson. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948. Pp. xiii, 429. $5.00.)

In presenting the various interpretations of the Renaissance which historians have made, together with the ideological backgrounds of the historians themselves, Professor Ferguson has produced an extremely valuable book. For there is a wide variety of opinion as to what it was, its chronological limits, how it was brought about, and its connection with the chain of history as a whole. The author states as one of his conclusions that if the historian is to interpret the past at all, he must have a point of view. It seems that his would have been a better book if he had based it upon this conclusion to a greater degree. It is very rare that he tells us what he thinks of the interpretations of the historians as he presents them, and this tends to make his book more of a bibliographical aid than a history. He begins by showing that Petrarch prepared the way for the concept of a literary revival by characterizing the mediaeval period as one of barbarism and "darkness;" and to this Filippo Villani added his interpretation as to one factor of causation by stating that "The Catholic faith began to abhor the figments of poetic imagination as a pernicious and vain thing." The revival in literature and art began, Boccaccio thought, with Dante and Giotto. Leonardo Bruni, however, thought that it started only when Petrarch began to point the way. These humanists did not use the term "Renaissance." The first to do that was Giorgio Vasari in 1550 who saw a development in art parallel to what the humanists had seen in literature, and referred to the *rinascita* which he considered to be evident in the stricter copy of nature and improved technique of Cimabue and Giotto. It was to be expected that the Protestant Melanchthon would characterize St. Thomas and scholasticism as "barbarism." It was to be expected, too, that Voltaire would take a similar position.

The interpretation which Voltaire and the other rationalists made of mediaeval civilization was rejected, of course, by the romanticists such as Chateaubriand and Ruskin. Other historians of the first half of the nineteenth century, however, continued tendencies of the humanists, Protestants, and rationalists, and prepared the way for a general synthesis. Hegel, in an abstract, philosophical way held that the spiritualization of nature and man was demanded by the logic of history to succeed to the otherworldliness of the mediaeval period. Voigt believed that he saw personality in the period beginning with Petrarch, in contrast to the mediaeval period

when a man was great only as the member of a system. Michelet, after having lost his professorship through involvement in the Revolution of 1848, turned his back on the favorable picture of mediaeval civilization which he had presented in the sixth volume of his *Histoire de France*, done before the Revolution, and in the seventh volume, published in 1855, painted a very dark picture of the Middle Ages, and stated that the Renaissance meant the discovery of the world and of man. This point of view was given full presentation in Burckhardt's *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860).

Since Burckhardt's time various historians have brought out additions, corrections, and rejections of his interpretation. Probably the best part of Mr. Ferguson's book is his presentation of these, such as Alfred von Martin's theory of capitalism as a cause of the Renaissance; Thode's pushing of the Renaissance back to St. Francis of Assisi; Courajod's theory of the Flemish origin of Italian Renaissance art; Olgiati's view of concreteness as the significance of the Renaissance; and Gilson's defence of scholasticism.

There are a few typographical mistakes such as "Forlì" for Forlì, *"eta"* for *età*, "Fornova" for Fornovo, "St. Maure" for St. Maur, and *"Commentary"* for Ghiberti's *Commentaries*. Also the dates assigned for Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata* (pp. 12 and 22) are inconsistent, which seems to come from confusion with his *Romae instauratae libri tres*. These small errors, however, do not detract from the fact that Professor Ferguson has performed a very useful service for all historians working in the Renaissance field.

WALTER W. J. WILKINSON

Georgetown University

Magna Carta: Its Role in the Making of the English Constitution, 1300-1629. By Faith Thompson. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. x, 410. $6.50.)

The present study is a continuation of the author's *First Century of Magna Carta* published in 1925. It is a well documented analysis of the issues, personalities, and events in English constitutional history from the reign of Edward I to the dissolution of Parliament and the completion of Sir Edward Coke's *Second Institute*. It describes the various ways in which the charter was issued by groups and individuals in the development of the English constitution. The charter meant many things to many groups, varying greatly from time to time. Examining the pertinent sources, Dr. Thompson, who is associate professor of history in the University of Minnesota, finds that the charter was never overshadowed in the later Middle Ages or even in the Tudor period and that its re-interpretation in the early Stuart period was not an innovation. At its origin

the charter was the most complete official statement of the law at the time and throughout the period under consideration there was constant reference to its provisions by those statesmen who transformed a charter of feudal "liberties" into a charter of "liberty of the subject." They were using a document with a long history and a reputation already made not only in plea rolls and year books, reports of state trials, parliamentary records and statute rolls, but also in the treatises and handbooks of legal writers. Parliament relied on the charter in its struggles against the royal power. The author fortifies her interpretations by an array of citations from original and valuable source material gathered in England. She has freely drawn upon the important works of Holdsworth, McIlwain, and McKechnie.

The presentation is simple, clear, and logical. The book has copious footnotes, a carefully prepared bibliography, and an index. For the reader's convenience the text of the third revision of the Great Charter issued in 1225 is given in an appendix together with a summary comparison of the texts of 1215 and 1225. The book is outstanding as a piece of painstaking research and is a distinguished contribution to the literature of Magna Carta.

HERBERT W. RICE

Marquette University

Burke's Politics. Selected Writings and Speeches by Edmund Burke on Reform, Revolution, and War. Edited by Ross J. S. Hoffman and Paul Levack. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1949. Pp. xxxvii, 536, x. $4.75.)

This is an outstanding work in a variety of ways. Professors Hoffman and Levack of Fordham University have produced a book that has all of the best qualities and none of the weaknesses of similar undertakings. The introduction, "Burke's Philosophy of Politics," is a brilliant summation illuminated by patches of significant history and passages of shining prose. This introductory essay supplies ample reason for the last part of a remark in the preface about Burke—"the least read but the most quoted of authors"—and ought to go far toward ending the validity of the first part. It performs well the primary function which so many introductory essays fall short of achieving, viz., making the reader want to read the whole book. This volume gives us the best of Burke—the best of probably the clearest thinker and ablest writer on politics as practised by the English-speaking peoples. Here we have hundreds of large, beautiful, well-documented pages of exposition and argument produced as part of Burke's routine work. Yet it is English prose of such quality as to make the old distinction between "the prose of use" and "the prose of art" quite inapplicable.

The work of the editors has been no mere scissors and paste job. This is not a scrapbook. The cutting has been delicately and skillfully done by scholars whose surgery was founded on a sound knowledge of the anatomy of the organism operated on. There are no disturbing scars. This is due not only to the skillful selecting and cutting, but also to the editor's many paragraphs of summary, introduction, and transition throughout the book. The masterful fashion in which this feature is handled is alone enough to put this volume in a strictly limited superior class among books of collected writings.

In sum, this is an orderly, full grown, and integrated discussion of politics by a great mind very much alive to the nature of practical politics and dealing with live political problems. The politics Burke dealt with we are told are dead. But politics are not dead, and will not be so long as freedom survives in the world. Today presents (and doubtless tomorrow will again present) many modern instances that need the dissecting precision of Burke's penetrating thought, and the healthy treatment of his worldly wisdom. Here it is, easily, delightfully available as never before. Lovers of fine books, students of English prose, practising politicians, political philosophers, and historians, all owe an admiring salute to Professors Hoffman and Levack.

JAMES M. O'NEILL

Brooklyn College

The Spirit of Revolution in 1789. By Cornwell B. Rogers. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. ix, 363. $5.00.)

About one part of Mr. Rogers' work there can be general agreement. He has provided a most scholarly catalogue of French political songs of 1789, supplementing and correcting this portion of Pierre's *Les hymnes et chansons de la révolution* (1904). He has in his book given generous and interesting quotations from these songs. He has provided historians of opinion with a hitherto little-used source.

Mr. Rogers, however, has clearly been unwilling to make this first work of his a relatively unambitious, if meticulous, bit of cataloguing scholarship. He has gone on to generalize from these songs, with much additional material from pamphlets of the time, and with more conventional political material, on what he calls the "spirit of revolution." His real problem is a sociological one—the relation of the masses to the leaders, the catchwords, the "ideas," the *res publica,* indeed, of this first year of the great French Revolution. But even today, as the American election of 1948 has made very clear, social scientists do not know how to measure "public opinion" accurately. As a retrospective sociologist, Mr. Rogers is often suggestive, as when he points out the contrast between the apparently sincere warmth of popular feeling for Louis XVI and the

popular devotion, already clear, to equality. And his major conclusion, that already in 1789 there were present attitudes that appear fully developed in the *culte de la patrie* of 1793, is well established.

But as a whole the book fails to produce a sense of unity and mastery of material. Mr. Rogers has no clear conceptual scheme. He works very hard to use the generalizations of such social scientists as Frazer, William James, Jung, and Freud, but he does not succeed in lessening the distrust that most historians will feel for these generalizations—especially for those of the psychologists. It takes a Bagehot or a Carl Becker to adopt with skill the ideas of another science to the traditional study of man. Mr. Rogers, who may some day help us with this task, is still too immature. This book suggests that, though the routine German Ph.D. thesis may be stultifying, there is some gain in beginning modestly.

CRANE BRINTON

Harvard University

The Ideology of French Imperialism: 1871-1881. By Agnes Murphy. (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 241. $2.50.)

Here is a new title for Professor Ragatz to include in his bibliography of imperialism. *The Ideology of French Imperialism* is a doctor's thesis exposing the philosophy of French expansion during the decade after the Franco-Prussian War. A cursory thumbing of reading lists of European colonialism reveals a plethora of studies telling *what* empire-builders did; fewer volumes explain *why*. Action is easier to trace than motivation. The writer has chosen as a subject one country's apology for imperialism. The topic has long claimed investigation. The greenest freshman taking a history survey course reads about the years of propaganda in Risorgimento Italy which preceded the events of '48 and '59. Later he turns to France. One moment, a defeated nation, she is signing the Treaty of Frankfurt; the next, an imperial power, she is subduing Madagascar and Tonkin.

Mother Murphy's aim is to point up "the preparation of the mind of France for the reception of the new lands which the government was to lay at the feet of the willing nation." Her method is to show the revival of interest in geography during the 1870's, the excitement caused by explorations in Africa and Indo-China, the agitation led by Leroy-Beaulieu, Charmes, Gaffarel, and Raboisson. The author comprehends fully that these people were moved by particular interests and did not have the detachment enjoyed by Parker T. Moon half a century later when in 1926 he placed the virus of imperialism under his microscope. To quote T. S. Eliot, "Time present and time past are both perhaps present in time

future, . . ." Today's observer of the then-present too often takes what Professor Hesseltine refers to as Toynbee's "airplane view of history." From lofty perch he sees patterns where none may exist and he generalizes on impressions. Mother Murphy restores perspective by illustrating the mongrel motives of imperialism. She uses the appropriate tools of scholarship, though the documentation has a common thesis characteristic of half pages of footnotes near the beginning, and but one or two notes per page, and these mostly *ibidems,* near the end.

Two inquiries may be made: why is not more attention paid Jules Ferry? Inasmuch as in the 1880's he founded an ultramarine empire for France, are his views not pertinent? Neither his correspondence nor Aldao's *Les idées coloniales de Jules Ferry* (Paris, 1933), is cited in the bibliography. What relationship, if any, is there between France's ideology of imperialism and direct rule, her system of colonialism? Did the French, imbued with their *mission civilisatrice* merely stumble on the plan of closely co-ordinating their colonies with the metropolitan territory and creating a Gallic native elite? Or were there factors in their thinking that made this technique of administration appeal to them more than Lord Lugard's indirect rule?

Maps printed midway in this "century of the uneasy mind" are still plentifully splattered with British red and Paris green, albeit no longer with Prussian blue. Mother Murphy offers a partial explanation in her book. Now someone should review the colonial ideology of the other expansionist states.

DUANE KOENIG

University of Miami

Stalin and German Communism: A Study in the Origins of the State Party. By Ruth Fischer. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xxii, 687. $8.00.)

Ruth Fischer, the daughter of the Austrian professor, Rudolf Eisler, and the sister of Hanns and Gerhart Eisler, became charter member no. 1 of the Austrian Communist Party in November, 1918. In 1919 she moved to Berlin and advanced rapidly in the German Communist Party and in the Comintern. By 1924 she was a member both of the German Reichstag and of the Comintern Presidium. Very quickly she became involved in the feud between Stalin and Trotsky. When she persistently refused Stalin's bid for her support, she was expelled from the Communist Party in 1926. Repudiated by the communists, she was hated by the nazis. In 1933 when Hitler came to power she fled to Paris; on the fall of France in 1940 she fled, first to Lisbon, and then to the United States.

Her *Stalin and German Communism* traces the history of the world revolutionary movement in general, and the connection between German and Russian communism in particular, from the Russian revolution of 1917 to 1929. As Professor Sidney B. Fay says in a prefatory note, "her book is important both for the historian of the past thirty years and for everyone who wants to understand how the present aggressive and terrorist Soviet dictatorship came into being." Other reviewers have been less precise in their praise and have hailed the book as the most important history which has yet appeared both of Weimar Germany and of international communism. Actually, the book is a critique of the Weimar Republic and of—not communism—but stalinism, written with passionate conviction by a former leader of left communism. For early German communism, and for the international communism of Lenin and Trotsky, Ruth Fischer retains devotion, and she is convinced that the communism of 1917-1922 will some day furnish the inspiration for a revolt of the workers against both the "counter-revolution" and the "state party" of Stalin.

As a gigantic tract the book has real value, but it is not a history as westerners understand history. The western historian stubs his toe over the semi-colon when he reads: "In March 1926 the motion to admit Germany [to the League of Nations] was defeated by Brazil's veto; the United States feared a too close British-German alliance, which would be detrimental to American interests in Germany." Western logic has no wings to carry the reader across yawning gaps: "To say that it was clearly to the political advantage of the two groups involved—the Tories in Britain and the Stalinist faction in the Russian Party, both of them in the midst of a struggle for power—to have the Zinoviev letter printed, is to say that in all probability both groups were involved in its fabrication." Where a westerner would say that, after the communist strikes and bombings of March, 1921, in Germany, some 4000 communists received jail sentences averaging nine months, Ruth Fischer says that "4000 were sentenced to a total of 3000 years' imprisonment." Somehow before 1924 the communist T (terror)—groups were "honest revolutionary workers;" after 1924 these same men became "filthy instruments, salaried assassins."

Undoubtedly today when many are disposed to see Stalin as a benevolent, reasonable old gentleman it is well to see him through the eyes of one who was crushed in his relentless pursuit of power. But the reader should not be told that through those eyes he sees truth steadily and sees it whole.

RAYMOND J. SONTAG

University of California
Berkeley

AMERICAN HISTORY

The New York Triumvirate. A Study of the Legal and Political Careers of William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, Jr. By Dorothy Rita Dillon. (New York.: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 217. $3.25.)

This is a study of three men known to friends and enemies in pre-revolutionary New York as the "triumvirate." Many bonds united them: Yale was their alma mater; they were lawyers by profession and Presbyterians in creed; they belonged to the same social circle and they entertained aristocratic rather than democratic sentiments. For three decades they supported the Livingston or Presbyterian faction against the De Lancey or Anglican group in the arena of colonial politics. In the 1750's they became the spearhead of opposition in the controversy over Anglican domination of King's College, and twenty years later they led the opposition to the founding of an Anglican episcopate. In the field of politics they fought the De Lanceys over the issues of the tenure of judges and appeals from colonial to British home courts. The prosecution of Alex McDougall, the New York Wilkes, was the last quasi-political case in which they associated. By 1770 the triumvirate began to dissolve and by 1776 its dissolution was complete. In the belief that these three men were typical, and that their disparate decision offers the key to the decision of many of their contemporaries, Dr. Dillon has set herself the task of ascertaining how and why the disassociation was effected. Eventually Livingston became Governor of New Jersey, a position he held fourteen years, while Scott, who remained in New York, was elected to the state senate after independence, and by degrees accumulated a wide assortment of offices. Smith, however, soon found himself in difficulty because of his pro-British sympathy. For some time he was kept under surveillance, and after that he was allowed to go to New York City where he became chief justice of the royalist part of New York, and in 1786 chief justice of Canada. But because the New York assembly had exempted his property from the effects of the act confiscating Tory property within the state, his loyalism was challenged when he resided within the British lines in New York, and later in Canada. Miss Dillon has produced a scholarly and exceptionally well written volume on a minor but interesting phase of colonial history, and her work is presented in the attractive format characteristic of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law.

CHARLES H. METZGER

West Baden College

Detroit's First American Decade 1796 to 1805. By Frederick Clever Bald [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XVI]. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 276. $4.50.)

At the turn of the eighteenth century Detroit, key outpost on the Northwest frontier and a border fort between the United States and British Canada, was a bustling, thriving western town. From the British evacuation in 1796 to the advent of Michigan Territory in 1805, the settlement presented a study of singular importance. As headquarters for General Anthony Wayne's United States Army, it was an important military location. It was politically prominent as the seat of Wayne County which in true western fashion at first comprised most of the present State of Michigan and parts of Indiana, Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin. By 1805 Detroit became the capital of Michigan Territory. Advancing from its earlier importance as a fur trading post, the compact village maintained this principal asset and added tannery, more merchandising establishments, and ship building to its list of enterprises. The site of Ste. Anne's Parish, Detroit, was also a religious center for the many French families located on the banks of St. Clair Lake, the Detroit River, and surrounding vicinity.

With all of these vital and interesting activities to relate, the author finds no difficulty in holding reader interest. He uses fresh manuscript source material almost exclusively, and weaves a lucid, chronological narrative in an even and pleasing style. Viewing every day life through the characters and occupations of the local populace, the account conveys much of the spirit of the times and gives more than the usual local history. Yet the numerous references to primary sources indicate that accurate historical evidence is the basis of his story. The result is a steady stream of related facts giving the conflicts of French and British groups, and later their reception to Yankee Americans whom the French characterized as *sacrés cochons de Bastonnais* (p. 253).

Bald's attention to every conceivable detail of life makes his work a lasting contribution to the social history of the new West. His investigation passes from the number of slaves of William Macomb, through the property holdings of John Askin and the Cuyahoga Associates, the records of early legal affairs and municipal ordinances, to such things as the wife hunts of Solomon Sibley, and the style preferences of the women inhabitants or the drinking habits of the town's male population.

Since Detroit had always been a village of French Catholics, it is to be regretted that they left so little evidence for the historian to work with. From the bibliographical essay at the end of the book it is evident that a thorough search was made of Catholic archives. Bald handles the religious subject—and for that matter all subjects—in a detached, sympathetic man-

ner. His bibliographical discussion also reveals the richness of the records of early Detroiters, of especial interest from the economic point of view. Thus the invaluable Burton Historical Collection containing deposits of business and commercial papers of the vicinity, gives greater weight to the picture of Detroit's trade and commerce. There is only one defect in the book worth mentioning—the chapter titles only vaguely reflect the contents. However, this may be partly a matter of taste and should not be allowed to detract from an otherwise excellent work in early western and social history.

JAMES J. GREEN

University of Notre Dame

Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, written at Fort Vancouver, 1829-1832. Edited by Burt Brown Barker. (Portland: Binfords and Morb for the Oregon Historical Society. 1948. Pp. iv, 376. $6.00.)

During this present decade the Champlain Society of Canada has added to its already magnificent publications three splendid volumes containing the letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been the great chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company for the Columbia District during the formative years 1824-1845. In the preface to the first of these volumes, which were prepared and printed while Britain was at war, the editor gracefully acknowledged the help afforded him by Professor Barker of the University of Oregon, and he also mentioned that the professor had discovered a letter of McLoughlin that was not recorded in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. It was, however, not one letter but a whole letterbook that Professor Barker had found and of the 280 letters that the book contained, all written at Fort Vancouver during the years 1829-1832, there were ninety of them that were completely new material, unrecorded in any archives.

So valuable was the discovery that the Oregon State Historical Society has published them, carefully annotated and edited by Dr. Barker. The letters were well worth the labor and the research that has been expended on them. They illustrate the beginning of a new era in the affairs of the Hudson's Bay Company and of North America. The chief factor, writing to the governor and committee of the company, tells them of the faring of the venture, the opening up for trade by the British of the Pacific Northwest. The area was still no-man's-land in those days and the correspondence graphically describes the problems that were involved. There was rivalry from the Russians and from the Americans, there was the constant nightmare of Indian trouble, there were the squalid domestic problems occasioned by some of the trappers and their Indian women. John McLoughlin was a splendid correspondent and his letters make the times of his trading become alive to the reader.

The letters alone are worth the reading, but the editor has done a job of which he may well be proud. The first appendix contains an alphabetical biography of all the characters mentioned in the letters, the second appendix lists the history and location of the company forts, the third appendix lists all the vessels that were engaged in the coastal trade. There is, moreover, a masterly appreciation of the company's technique of trading in the Columbia District, and finally there are full and complete notes on the letters.

Throughout the book the editor records his gratitude to the Hudson's Bay Company for the help that he received from them while compiling this book. The volume is a valuable addendum to the three volumes of the Champlain Society that have been published containing the letters of McLoughlin, but it can stand alone as a splendid example of the high degree of achievement that can be reached by a state historical society. For any general reader or for any scholar who wishes to read of the formative years of the Pacific Northwest, and for whom the limited Champlain Society publications are not available, there could be nothing better than this book. The physical format, except for a tawdry dust cover, is up to the standard set by the contents.

WILLIAM B. READY

College of St. Thomas

Rebel Raider: Being an Account of Raphael Semmes's Cruise in the C.S.S. Sumter: Composed in Large Part of Extracts from Semmes's Memoirs of Service Afloat, Written in the Year 1869. Selected and Supplemented by Harpur Allen Gosnell, Lieut. Comdr., U.S.N.R. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1948. Pp. vii, 218. $3.75.)

Captain Raphael Semmes, C.S.N. (later rear admiral) was a commander when he began his commerce raiding career in command of the C.S.S. *Sumter*. Semmes himself converted the *Sumter* into a raider in New Orleans before departing on his first cruise. He did the best he could with the facilities available but he was constantly plagued by the fact that his ship carried only sufficient coal for about eight days' steaming. He was compelled to rely upon sail power for most of his cruising, although usually he had to raise steam in order to overhaul the faster sailing vessels that he encountered on the high seas. Semmes had a facility of expression, and the raw material on which Commander Gosnell has based this book is excellent. It is apparent, however, that part of the material used by Gosnell differs from the journal published in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies.*

The book is attractive, not only to the history student who is interested in the particular period covered, or in the history of commerce raiding,

but also to the general reader. The author has inserted numerous well digested comments on international law, although these have a somewhat academic value today. The volume is an interesting study rather than an original contribution to our knowledge of the subject involved. There is both an index and an appendix.

The problems which faced Captain Semmes on this cruise were those very important ones illustrating the difficult logistics problems of the earlier days of steam power. Naval officers have been criticized for their slowness in accepting the advent of steam, but a narrative such as this one illustrates again the factors which caused thoughtful naval officers to go slow in proposing reliance upon steam alone. All of the marine steam engineering plants of the Civil War period were heavy consumers of coal in proportion to their very limited horsepower. In contrast to the frigates of the great era of sailing vessels, which had preceded the introduction of steam, all steam-powered commerce raiders of the Civil War period were severely limited in their cruising radius. Admiral Mahan served during part of the Civil War in a steam vessel which was required to coal ship every day. With such a grounding as a young officer, it is not remarkable that Mahan was always extremely conscious of all logistic problems, especially the fuel problem.

From the time Semmes departed from the mouth of the Mississippi in the *Sumter* he had no home port to which he might go. This account tells of his cruise through the Caribbean; to the east coast of South America; his return to the North Atlantic; and of the factors which decided his going to Cadiz and Gibraltar. The author stresses the failure of the British authorities to enforce the law which would have required them to intern the *Sumter*. In spite of the British inaction, however, the Union Navy kept the *Sumter* blockaded in Gibraltar and her career ended there.

This book is more than usually interesting as a study of the problems of commerce raiding and as foreshadowing the better known cruise which Captain Semmes afterwards made in the most famous of all raiders, the *Alabama*.

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN

Washington, D. C.

The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1948. By Charles S. Sydnor. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 400. $6.00.)

This is Volume V of the History of the South sponsored by the Louisiana State University and the trustees of the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas. It is the second volume to be published, the first being *The South during Reconstruction* by E. Merton

Coulter. This new volume carries on the pace set by the first work and compels one to provide the complete ten volumes of the set for his library.

Dr. Sydnor set himself no small problem when he undertook to describe the over-all picture of the South between 1819 and 1848. These years were certainly the formative ones for that section and the key to the South's history practically until our own day. It has been said that the South developed men of much smaller stature during these years than it had produced in the previous decades. Calhoun and his contemporaries have been compared unfavorably with Washington and Jefferson. I dare say the only advantage that Washington, Jefferson and their contemporaries had over Calhoun, Hayne, and the men of their age was that the former were inceptors. Not infrequently a certain myopia makes people see the first as the best. It is probably a sort of historical line perspective with objects at the front of the picture looking bigger than those in the rear. Man to man the leaders of this generation should measure equally with the founding fathers.

Certainly, if the time of this book was not so easily glossed with romance, it was nonetheless filled with activity. It was the era of many political parties, of a revolution in transportation, the steamboat and railroad, the beginnings of American industrialism, the era of continental expansion. Between 1819 and 1848 the United States became a nation. Dr. Sydnor has covered this period with facility and in many respects has given a comprehensive study. The appraisal of the South seems to be as honest as is humanly possible, seeing its value and not hesitating to show its errors. Some ideas expressed might be unwelcome to the romantics inasmuch as they tear down the altruism and "statesmanship" of the political leaders on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line. The author, however, one feels, is more than necessarily occupied with the political aspects. Surely more space could have been given to the social and cultural history of these decades. One also feels a consciousness of an overemphasis of the first decade rather than a balanced study of the whole period selected. Syndor is overly conscious of his starting point, 1819.

The reviewer found it particularly painful that in a history of the South for 1819-1848, which is almost a history of the South Atlantic seaboard states, that there was no mention in any way of Bishop England. Surely the man responsible for the Catholics of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, part of Alabama, and at times, Florida, during the years 1820-1842, (the very center of the time element of this study), should deserve some mention. His influence could not have been so nugatory.

Indeed, one knows that the Catholics were a severe minority in the South during these years, but inasmuch as the author does not note in his bibliography Guilday's *Life and Times of John England,* or in fact any Catholic work pertinent to the period at all (except the report to Propa-

ganda on the Diocese of Louisville), one wonders if he took any trouble to ascertain if there was any contribution made by the Catholics to the South during these years. On page 65 it is stated that Georgetown College was "founded by the Catholics in 1815." It is true Georgetown was authorized by Congress in that year to grant degrees but the date of its beginning ought to be placed much earlier than that. Judge Gaston of North Carolina entered the first class in the year 1791.

There is a very nicely done critical essay on sources in the volume. One observation of Dr. Sydnor deserves special thought as the warning of history in respect to a problem of the South today—we are thinking of the enfranchisment of the Negro. He has made observation on the poor caliber of leadership developed in the South with the rise of Jacksonian democracy and he comments:

> If any one group is to be held responsible for this grievous condition it must be the aristocratic, privileged, eastern planters. They had possessed wealth, influence, and political power for a long time, but they had failed to develop and execute a plan that would prepare the disenfranchised for the duties of citizenship. There is no use in citing the considerable progress that had been made in college education, or the real difficulties in the way of providing universal education. When all that is said, the fact remains that great numbers of the newly enfranchised were unprepared for the responsibility of self-government, and blame must be placed on those who had been in power rather than on those who were coming to power.

RICHARD C. MADDEN

St. Andrew's Church
Myrtle Beach, South Carolina

Horns of Thunder: The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue Including Selections from his Writings. By Mary Wheelhouse Berthel. (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society. 1948. Pp. xii, 276. $3.00.)

As an early St. Paul newspaper man in Minnesota Territory between 1849 and 1852, James Madison Goodhue held to the principle that the frontier editor should not paddle along with public opinion, but should set the pace and strive to shape the development of the region in which he labored. The columns of the *Minnesota Pioneer* during his editorship thus represent him as the scourge of incompetent territorial officials, the city and territorial planner, and the prophet of Minnesota's potentialities. As such, he became the territory's ace booster and worked for its "physical, industrial, agricultural, and social development." He aimed to make Minnesota known in the East and strove to turn the "march of empire" toward the upper Mississippi country. He foresaw the growth of the agricultural and resort industries in Minnesota and predicted that the new territory would become the "Dairy land of the West."

During the early 1850's Goodhue, in spite of his native New England background and training, did not become a rabid champion of eastern interests. Although he extolled the leavening influence of New England's culture, he was not ready to tie the new territory economically to the Atlantic seaboard. He looked upon the Mississippi River as "the highway of North America." Rather than turn commerce eastward, he clamored for improved navigation facilities and speedier mail and passenger service on the Mississippi. He was very conservative about eastern railroad expansion and feared the day when "soulless railroad corporations" would control the trade of the West for the benefit of the East. He inveighed against the tendency of settlers to buy stock in railroads which ran eastward. He wanted the people to spurn the idle talk about railroad speculation and concentrate on production with the utilization of the Mississippi as the natural outlet for their goods. Otherwise the West, he complained, would become tied to New York "to be forever led at the triumphant chariot wheels of old Gotham."

In his analysis of local conditions Goodhue favorably noted the contributions of the various religious groups in the upbuilding of the new territory. He did not overlook the apostolic work of Father Augustin Ravoux, a pioneer Catholic missionary of early Minnesota. The editor emphasized that the settlers could not do too much to foster moral improvement. The book also contains a full page reproduction of a contemporary painting of the Chapel of St. Paul, from which the present city received its name.

Appearing as this account does on the eve of Minnesota's one-hundredth birthday, its pages serve well to reflect the character of life in the upper Middle West a century ago. Under the guidance of the pen of Mrs. Berthel the thunderings of Goodhue in the columns of the *Minnesota Pioneer* assume new significance during the centennial year.

VINCENT G. TEGEDER

St. John's University
Collegeville, Minnesota

American Historians and European Immigrants, 1875-1925. By Edward N. Saveth. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 244. $3.00.)

In many ways this is a disturbing book. If it were not for some soothing balm in the final chapter, the reader might lay down the work troubled with many anxieties. In the preceding chapters Mr. Saveth sketches a distressing picture of the prejudices and intolerance of a generous sample of leading American historians of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It would seem that a demagogue espousing a program of

narrow racism, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholicism could propose his doctrines under the most distinguished auspices.

The title indicates that the work treats only a limited period. The author does not *per se* consider the fine works of Marcus Hansen nor Oscar Handlin's careful study of Boston's immigrants, although he does make passing reference to these more recent contributions. In the first two chapters Mr. Saveth discusses the Teutonic hypothesis and considers the works of John Fiske, John W. Burgess, and Henry Cabot Lodge. There follows a discussion of Henry Adams' admiration of his Norman ancestors, a consideration of European peoples in the American forest, and a treatment of the works of Francis Parkman and Theodore Roosevelt. The works of Frederick Jackson Turner and Woodrow Wilson are discussed with reference to the merits of the frontier and the cities as melting pots. The works of Hermann Eduard Von Holst, James Schouler, and James Ford Rhodes figure in a chapter entitled: "The Immigrant and American Political Development." Chapter VII deals with the writings of John Bach McMaster, Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer, Edward Channing, and H. L. Osgood. The soothing balm flows in the last chapter, "Toward a Corrective Viewpoint," in which the author discusses filiopietism and the work done since 1925.

The disturbing effect of the book results from its lengthy marshalling of a parade of the historians' many prejudices. There are sentences which would have seemed at home amidst the fiercest nazi theorizing; opinions such as Burgess' that admittance to the American nation be opened only to "such non-Aryan race elements as shall have become Aryanized in spirit and in genius" (p. 48). When many scattered evidences of Henry Adams' decided anti-Semitism are gathered in a few paragraphs they leave a similar impression. The American historians discussed were probably as fiercely anti-Catholic as they were anti-Semitic, if, indeed, anti-Catholicism was not the dominant aberration. Parkman, while supporting the principle of religious toleration, "liked the idea of a population which was predominantly Protestant with immigration restricted and suffrage limited to 'our cultivated class, rich or not rich'" (p. 110). Wilson insisted that self-government in America made papal aggression impossible.

Dr. Saveth keeps a nice balance. He indicates that this racism, prejudice, and class-consciousness have passed from the recent and current historiography of immigration. The filiopietists, in their self-conscious efforts to redress the wrongs done their ancestors, have been guilty of equal distortions in the opposite direction. With the recent growth of scientific monographs on various phases of immigration an impartial objectivity has, fortunately, gained the field.

The work is carefully done and the apparatus technically expert. The reader might wish that the author had spared him the phrase "historio-

graphic hangnail" on the first page of the introduction and a few errors seem to have escaped the proof-reader's vigilance: "predominantly" is rendered "predominatly" (p. 110), "seemed" becomes "semed" (p. 154), and "treatment" is shortened to "treament" (p. 221).

FRANKLIN E. FITZPATRICK

Cathedral College
Brooklyn

Lincoln's Herndon. By David Donald. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Pp. xv, 392, xxiii. $5.00.)

Despite the many books on Lincoln and his period they are, for the most part, a credit to the profession, and *Lincoln's Herndon* is in keeping with that high quality of scholarship. This is an important book not only because Herndon was Lincoln's law partner but, too, because he was co-author of the most discussed life of Lincoln. Herndon is also important because of his participation in the disputed questions of Lincoln's history and his continued influence on Lincoln historians. He gave of his time and energy to every author who came to Springfield or corresponded with him about Lincoln—the obsession of his life.

Herndon, like Lincoln's religion, is difficult to appraise correctly. His training at Illinois College and his correspondence with the abolitionist ministers of the East, were undoubtedly influential in his thinking on the slavery question. How much influence he had on Lincoln it is hard to say and the author questions that it was extensive. It is difficult to believe that Herndon, a man who thought so much, sometimes incorrectly, and was so tenacious about his convictions, did not have considerable influence on Lincoln, at least in the early days.

Herndon, as a lawyer, had a fair degree of success, but his interests were too varied to make the necessary application and he abandoned the profession. He was well read and his library was at the time considered unusual. He tried politics and was elected Mayor of Springfield. His farming was not practical. His lectures, like his writings, caused controversy and criticism. His success as a Lincoln author was without the anticipated remuneration, and the appreciation of his work came only after his death. His life was unpleasant and you sympathize with him because of the frustration of his hopes.

One may disagree with Herndon but his convictions appear honest. Among the many disputes, one was on Lincoln's religion. He felt that Lincoln was a disbeliever and he took sharp issue with anyone who questioned his opinion. Herndon may have been influenced by his own lack of belief because Lincoln was great support to any cause and especially to Herndon's. In fairness to Herndon, there is much proof that Lincoln's

religion was unorthodox, and his silence at a time when adherence to some church would have been a political asset is support for Herndon's contention. As Lincoln grew older there was more evidence of his belief in religion. However, Herndon's position was more sound than the early Lincoln authors and supporters who felt it was their duty to prove Lincoln was religious by statements which had no support. This controversy did not arise with Lincoln's death but had plagued him during life.

The book will have an important place in Lincoln history and especially because of the author's analysis of Herndon's Lincoln and Herndon's inumerable disputes about the controverted facts in the life of Lincoln.

THOMAS B. DUNN

Morris, Illinois

The Movement to Americanize the Immigrant. By Edward G. Hartmann. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 333. $4.00.)

Mr. Hartmann explains that during 1915-1916 "the nation was subjected to one of those social movements, . . . which have periodically sprung up and colored the history of the United States." This Americanization crusade was one manifestation of reaction to the impact made upon American life by the so-called "new immigration" of 1880-1894. The crusade gained momentum as German-American relations grew worse during the war years, expanded during 1917-1920—partly because of championship of Bolshevism by the I.W.W., and certain immigrant groups—and died gradually as the nation returned to normal times.

The author portrays the efforts of individual social workers and groups to alleviate bad living conditions among the newcomers and to free them from exploitation of their padrones. Accounts are given of the founding of the North American Civic League for Immigrants in Boston (1907) and affiliated societies in Chicago and New York during the next two years. These non-sectarian, conservative societies stressed civic betterment from the politico-economic viewpoint as well as from the humanitarian. They sought co-operation of existing groups and endeavored to supplement the work of municipal, state, and federal government agencies. In localities where immigrants settled in considerable numbers, lectures and night classes were held through the co-operation of public schools and industrial plants. The distribution of pamphlets, in the nine dominant languages of the immigrant groups of the period, containing laws affecting immigrants, along with civic and general information, helped consolidate a nation-wide campaign to indoctrinate the newcomer with "good, old-fashioned American ideals."

Among the other procedures described were campaigns to acquaint native-born Americans with the problems of their immigrant neighbors,

receiving of citizenship papers in connection with "Americanization" programs held on July Fourth to acquaint both the older and new Americans with the true meaning of Independence Day, passage of state and federal laws to remedy abuses in the immigrant situation, agitation for a federal bureau of immigration, and extenson of the work of the federal Bureau of Education among the foreign-born.

The great stress placed on the teaching of English led the *United Mine Workers' Journal* (July 6, 1916) to deplore neglect of evils in the treatment of immigrant labor and failure to credit labor unions as useful Americanization media. Other negative results of the Americanization drive were the deepening of inferiority complexes as some immigrants realized that they were considered problems by many of their American neighbors, and an increase in nativism, culminating in the revived Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's.

To the student of American immigration Mr. Hartmann's book will be of great interest with its wealth of well documented material and its extensive bibliography of forty-eight pages. Even with relegation of lists of members of various organizations and places of meetings to footnotes, the book reads like a doctoral dissertation. The style is clear, but the index not quite adequate.

SISTER M. GILBERT KELLY

Rosary College

The Age of the Great Depression, 1929-1941. By Dixon Wecter. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1948. Pp. xii, 362. $5.00.)

Most historians will agree that the Great Depression and World War II represent the starting and the finishing points of a momentous period in American history. The period 1929-1941, therefore, is an apt unit for historical study. The choice of the title is equally suitable because without a doubt the depression and the mentality it created are responsible for altering the course of American history. Only World War II brought the age of the depression to an end, although some will still dispute the fact that it has ended even yet.

This book attempts to describe the changes that occurred in the American way of life in twelve years. It comes to grips with the intricate economic causes of the depression, deals with the personal travails of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt, and yet has room to discuss Joe Louis, Hollywood, and Eddie Cantor. In a few breaths the author tells us of the "hundred days," the growth of government, the rise of organized labor, the changes in rural life, the quest for leisure, the problems of the depression-born youth, the work of the religious bodies, and the infiltration of communists in government, unions, literary and amusement groups.

On the whole Wecter is sympathetic to the New Deal, although he does not fail to point out its shortcomings and defects. He criticizes the policies of Herbert Hoover, although he recognizes that Hoover was "blamed for a disaster whose seeds had been sown long before his accession to office and which undoubtedly would have come had his opponent triumphed in 1928." His main objection to Hoover is not his lack of knowledge or his sincerity but his lack of leadership at a critical hour and his unwillingness to move quickly at a time when conditions demanded bold action. Regarding the cause of the depression, he quotes Hoover as saying: "When we fully understand the economic history of the 'twenties, we shall find that the debacle which terminated another highly prosperous period was largely contributed by a failure of industry to pass its improvement (through labor-saving devices) on to the consumer." Most post-depression economists would agree with this analysis.

On the New Deal Wecter concludes: "With all the New Deal's mistakes and shortcomings, its level of public trust remained singularly high and its leadership sincere, so that posterity might well be puzzled to read of the almost pathological hatred which Roosevelt's name inspired in a considerable minority of people lacking neither intelligence nor civic responsibility." Wecter fails to analyze adequately the events which caused Roosevelt to turn from the business men to organized labor. Basil Rauch, a Notre Dame graduate, in his *History of the New Deal* points out that there were really two New Deals. The first was the business men's New Deal, during which some of Hoover's ideas and policies were implemented. When the business men let the administration down, Roosevelt turned to labor and the second and real New Deal was formed.

The Catholic Church comes in for mention, although Wecter's treatment is rather shallow. In addition to remarking that the Church was more successful in keeping in touch with its unemployed than the Protestant denominations, the author deals with such diversified subjects as birth control, bingo, Monsignor Ryan, Father Coughlin, and movie censorship. The socio-economic teaching of the Church is scarcely mentioned, while the efforts of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists are completely ignored.

The book on the whole is a good one. It is well written and quite readable. It is scholarly and yet unfettered by a plethora of confusing footnotes. The "Critical Essay on Authorities" is more than adequate.

Wecter's analysis of this "age of the depression" will not satisfy all readers. It will not please the disillusioned liberals and disappointed office-seekers of the New Deal era, the die-hard reactionaries to whom the name of Roosevelt is a curse, the starry-eyed liberals to whom F.D.R.

was an oracle, and certainly not the communists. But for most of us it will provide a handy one volume manual of American history in one of its most critical hours.

GEORGE A. KELLY

St. Monica Church
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LATIN AMERICAN HISTORY

The National Archives of Latin America, Edited for the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council. By Roscoe R. Hill. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. 169. $1.50.)

Los archivos nacionales de la América Latina. By Roscoe R. Hill. With a prologue by Emeterio S. Santovenia. [Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, XIX.] (La Habana: 1948. Pp. 167.)

Dr. Hill, who knows more about the archives of Latin America than any other living person, was clearly the man best prepared to write this splendid guide. He has long been interested in archives, both from the point of view of the research scholar and the administrator. He spent a number of years in the Archive of the Indies at Seville gathering material for the Carnegie Institution of Washington and for the Library of Congress; he has visited nearly all the national archives of Latin America, and until his recent retirement he was the head of the Department of State Archives, in the National Archives. With this broad experience, it was inevitable that Dr. Hill should have produced a work of first-rate quality.

All the countries of Latin America, except El Salvador and Nicaragua, have national archives, a fact which speaks well of the regard for history which we find on the part of the Latin American governments. Most of the Latin American republics had national archives before (in many cases years before) our Congress in 1934 decided at length to endow us with one. Argentina has had a national archive since 1821; Mexico since 1823; Bolivia, 1825; Brazil, 1839; Cuba, 1840; Haiti, 1860; Colombia, 1868; Paraguay, 1871; Honduras, 1880; Costa Rica, 1881; and the Dominican Republic, 1884. In our case, it is not so sure that the authorities look upon our National Archives as anything more than a depository for the papers of the government, and we will probably have a long way to go before the National Archives will be an institution more interested in history than in records as such.

Dr. Hill discusses each archive separately, as a unit. He touches upon the history of each, its installations, its equipment, holdings, and publications. As Dr. Waldo G. Leland says in the preface to the English edition, "It is the hope of the Joint Committee that Dr. Hill's work may stimulate additional efforts to make the archival resources of the different countries more fully known and consequently to encourage the greater use of those resources by historians and other investigators." A great deal of work remains to be done to round out our knowledge of the archival resources of Latin America. The provincial archives are important, and so are the numerous cathedral and parish archives. In some countries there are valuable manuscript collections in national libraries and in the institutes and academies of history. Yet Dr. Hill, in writing so capably on the national archives of Latin America, has not only given us an excellent guide, but has also pointed the way, as Dr. Leland suggests, for further works of this kind.

The translation of Mr. Hill's book which the National Archive of Cuba has recently brought out, will make the guide more easibly available to the Spanish-speaking world. Captain Joaquín Llaverías, the director of the Archive, is to be congratulated on his project. We are also grateful to Dr. Santovenia for his fine preface.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The 1949 edition of the *Catholic Directory,* which appeared in June, carried its customary items of interest for the historian of the Church in the United States. The total number of Catholics reported for the United States, Alaska, and the Hawaiian Islands was 26,718,343, an increase of 642,646 over the total for 1948. Five American sees reported a Catholic population of over a million in the following order: Chicago, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Brooklyn. The American hierarchy reached its largest number in history with 181 members. For the third consecutive year the number of converts passed the 100,000 mark, with 117,130 being reported for the year 1948. Another all-time high was the 42,334 priests in the United States, and there were further increases among educational institutions, religious teachers, and the number of Catholic students. The number of 14,277 parishes reported with resident pastors shows an increase of 2,626 over the previous year. For the ninth time since the original directory of 1822 the format has been changed. A three-column page now makes for a more slender volume than that of recent years.

While the figures reported for the year 1948 are encouraging they again raise the question as to whether the Catholic population of the United States is not much greater than the total given in the *Catholic Directory.* In the May, 1944, issue of the *American Ecclesiastical Review* there appeared an article by George A. Kelly and Thomas Coogan entitled, "What Is Our Real Catholic Population?" The *Catholic Directory* had reported 22,000,000 American Catholics for that year, but by an analysis of death rate and birth rate estimates Fathers Kelly and Coogan arrived at the conclusion that the Catholic population for 1940 was much nearer 33,000,000 than the total given in the *Catholic Directory.* One wonders what the total for 1948 would be if the techniques of a scientific census were applied to the Catholic population of our country.

The fifth intensive training program in the preservation and administration of archives was held at the National Archives from July 25 to August 20 and was attended by twenty-one students. Among the representatives of Catholic institutions were Father Charles A. Costello, pastor of St. Venantius Church, Rouseville, Pennsylvania, who is at work on a history of the Diocese of Erie, Father Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., of St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesotta, and Miss Mercedes Muenz, assistant archivist of the University of Notre Dame. The popularity of this four-weeks course has been growing, and this past year the registration was closed for the limited number that can be accommodated several weeks in advance of the opening lectures.

The Christian Brothers of the New York province have set about organizing their archives at Barrytown, New York. It is hoped that the huge amount of material will be easily accessible shortly. There are hundreds of books on St. John Baptist de la Salle, the work of the congregation throughout the world, and numbers of textbooks from the nineteenth century. Among the correspondents represented in Barrytown are Bishop John L. Spalding and other prelates, Walter Elliott, C.S.P., Joseph Dutton, Orestes Brownson, Theodore Roosevelt, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. Brother Maurelian is represented by about 200 letters. He was once president of Christian Brothers College, Memphis. He managed the Catholic Educational Exhibit at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, and was instrumental in the formation of the National Board of Health. It was Brother Maurelian, too, who started Ira Dutton on his path to the Catholic Church. Brother Basil Leo, F.S.C., who holds his doctorate in history from the Catholic University of America has been appointed provincial archivist.

The annual *Report* of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association for 1947-1948 contains the papers read at the Quebec meeting of October 11-12, 1948. Among these, one by Malcolm MacDonnell on "The Early History of St. Francis Xavier University," a second by Honorius Provost on "Le système des cures au Canada français," and Adrien Verrette's "La paroisse franco-américaine" will interest our readers. Meredith Egan was elected secretary of the Association for 1949.

"Writing Local History Articles" by Marvin Wilson Schlegel fills the twenty-eight pages of the May issue of the *Bulletins* of the American Association for State and Local History.

The Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C., President of the University of Notre Dame, has announced the formation of a Committee on International Relations at Notre Dame which will study chiefly the ethical aspects of international relations. The permanent members of the committee are Waldemar Gurian, chairman, and Ferdinand A. Hermens, of the Department of Political Science, and William O. Shanahan and Matthew A. Fitzsimons of the Department of History. Also associated with the project will be Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., and Aaron I. Abell of the Department of History, and two, as yet unnamed, visiting research professors. The program of the committee includes special studies of Soviet-Vatican relations, the religious aspects of German politics of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and religious factors in recent English political developments, along with symposia and publications in these fields. The University has received a grant of $69,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation towards the cost of the work of the committee.

The Teachers' History Club in its annual meeting at the University of Notre Dame, July 15-17, re-elected the Reverend Joseph Swastek of St. Mary's College, Orchard Lake, Michigan, as president and Sister M. DeSales of Notre Dame Academy, Toledo, Ohio, as editor of the club *Bulletin*. As a result of the deliberations of the club and other high school teachers in attendance, the meeting went on record as insisting on proper historical training for all high school teachers of history, on two full units of history in all high school curricula, and on the preparation of a standard syllabus for the history courses in Catholic high schools.

The Second Annual Conference of the William Edgar Borah Outlawry of War Foundation at the University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho, was held on April 12-14. The general topic discussed at this meeting was "The Causes of War and the Conditions of Peace." Some fifty professors from western universities as well as six A.S.U.N. delegates participated in the three-day sessions. The Reverend Van Francis Christoph, S.J., represented Gonzaga University of Spokane at the meeting. He took part in two forum discussions: "Population Movements as Barriers to World Peace" and "The Economic Consequences of the Cold War."

At the second annual meeting, April 23-24, of the Pacific Northwest Political Science Association at Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, the Reverend Thomas Hanley, O.S.B., St. Martin's College, Lacey, Washington, was a member of the panel on "The Teaching of the Introductory Course in Political Science" and the Reverend William L. Davis, S.J., was a member of the panel on "Civil Liberties: Theory and Practice." The principal address by Francis Wilson, professor of political science, University of Illinois, was a ringing appeal to professors of political science to return to philosophical principles and to be really "scientific."

The principal object of the Meeting of the Pacific Northwest Historical Society at Tacoma on May 28 was to discuss the writing of a regional history of this area and the acceptance by various state legislatures in Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon as well as the provincial parliament in British Columbia and the territorial legislature in Alaska, of such a text in preference to the ones now used which are strictly state (or provincial) histories. An outline of such a text was drawn up by Dr. H. J. Deutsch of the State College of Washington, Pullman, and Dr. Dorothy O. Johansen of Reed College, Portland, and submitted for comment to the delegates.

Two distinctions have recently come to the Reverend Willian. L. Davis, S.J., an advisory editor of the *Review*. He was elected a member of the Board of Curators of the Washington State Historical Society. Visitors to Tacoma should not fail to call at the Washington State Historical

Building and spend some time in its truly fine museum. The genial and capable Director of the Museum is Mr. Chapin D. Foster, who is reaching many hundreds of school children in the state through his educational exhibits and who deserves high commendation for his work.

Father Davis has also been named a member of the Historical Committee to serve in an advisory capacity to the State Parks and Recreation Commission. This committee will serve as a body of experts to advise the State Parks commissioners "in the acquisition and development of historic sites," before it is too late to acquire, preserve, and develop them. Many early historic sites in the state are Catholic in origin.

William Bischoff, S.J., who is writing his thesis, "The Indian Wars of 1855-58," at Loyola University (Chicago), reports that through the efforts of his brother, the Reverend Adolph A. Bischoff, who is now in England, much valuable and hitherto unpublished material has been secured in micro-film from the Hudson's Bay Company archives in London. Incidentally, the eleventh volume of that company's valuable publications, E. E. Rich, ed., *Copybook of Letters Outward, 1679-1697,* has just been received by subscribers in this country.

The Reverend John B. McGloin, S.J., has been informed by Stanford University Press that his study of Father James Bouchard, S.J., *Eloquent Indian,* has been accepted and will appear on December 19, 1949, the centenary of the arrival of the Jesuit Fathers in San Francisco. Father McGloin is also preparing a brochure on that event.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has accepted the manuscript of the Reverend Joseph P. Donovan, S.J., on Cardinal Pelagius, apostolic delegate and sometime leader of the Fifth Crusade. The book will probably appear in 1950.

Five sixteenth-century maps presented to the Library of Congress by Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald are described by Clara Egli LeGear in the May number of the Library of Congress *Quarterly Journal.* There are maps of America by Diego Gutiérrez (1562), by André Thevet (1581), and by Franz Hogenberg (1589); a Gastaldo world map of 1565 engraved by Ferdinando Bertelli; and a map of the Pacific Ocean by Gabriel Tatton (1600).

During the current controversy over the Barden Bill few seem to remember that during the A.P.A. movement in the 1870's a constitutional amendment was passed by one House of Congress which would have prohibited the giving of any aid to religious institutions. At that time no one questioned the fact that the amendment was anti-Catholic in purpose, even though it had the open approval of President Grant.

Since 1849-50 marks the centenary of the visit of Father Theobald Matthew to the United States, efforts are being made to commemorate the efforts of this apostle of temperance. Unfortunately the work of Father Matthew has not received proper recognition in Catholic histories, because of the non-Catholic sponsorship of most of the temperance movements of that earlier period. An M.A. dissertation at the Catholic University of America on the history of the Catholic temperance movement in this country is being continued for the doctorate.

The tenth anniversary of the opening to the public of the Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress was celebrated in Washington on July 13, 1949. The Foundation is today the leading center in the United States for the study of Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian culture, and in the short decade of its existence, it has performed remarkable services to scholarship. *The Catholic Historical Review* congratulates the Foundation on its ten years of service and contribution and wishes it continued prosperity in its endeavors.

Sponsored by the Instituto de Cultura Hispánica, the first Congress of Spanish-American History will be held in Madrid October 1-12, 1949. The theme for the meeting will be the causes and characteristics of the movement for independence. Historians from Spanish America have been invited to attend.

The Benedictine monastery of Olinda, Pernambuco, was founded in 1596. It was not the earliest foundation of the order in Brazil, but throughout its long and uninterrupted history it has always been one of the important centers of Benedictine life in the country. During the colonial period the monastery benefited from extensive privileges and exemptions, granted to it by the crown and by the ecclesiastical authorities. Like the other Benedictine establishments in Brazil, it also had a rich endowment, the income of which provided adequately for the support of the community. When Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires governed the monastery (1763-1766) he searched its archives for information on the monastery's goods and prerogatives. This was put together in the form of a book for purposes of easy reference. Thanks to the interest in history of the present abbot, Dom Bonifácio Jansen, the celebrated collection has been transcribed and published in Volume XLI (1946-1947) of the *Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano* (Recife), pp. 5-711. It is hardly necessary to point out the great importance of this source for the secular and religious history of Brazil during the Portuguese period.

The Institute for Brazilian Studies of Vanderbilt University has issued a lavish brochure in honor of the visit of General Eurico Gaspar Dutra,

President of Brazil, to the institute on May 26, 1949. General Dutra was made honorary chairman of the faculty.

The eighteenth-century manuscripts on Minas Gerais, Brazil, acquired by the Public Library of São Paulo from the library of the late Félix Pacheco, are the subject of two articles by the dean of Brazilian historians, Dr. Afonso de E. Taunay, in the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo,* XLIV, 1st part (1948), 321-391. The Pacheco manuscripts will make it possible to fill many lacunae in the early history of the Brazilian mining frontier.

The Honduran Academy has been recently established in Tegucigalpa as a branch of the Royal Spanish Academy. Among those responsible for the creation of the new academy is Dr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle, well-known historian, who is also ambassador of Honduras to the United States.

The Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee of the British Academy is preparing a supplement to the *Medieval Latin Word-list* edited by J. H. Baxter and C. Johnson in 1934. The committee is asking for readers of Latin texts especially in medicine, mathematics, the natural sciences, philosophy, theology, canon and civil law, manorial records, geography, and industrial and domestic accounts. Persons interested in this lexicographical work should write to the Secretary, the Medieval Latin Dictionary Committee, the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 2, for information.

Summaries of the M.A. theses of H. Liebeschuetz on "Medieval Humanism in the Life and Writings of John of Salisbury" and of R. B. K. Petch on "The Organization of a College of Secular Priests as Illustrated by the Records of the College of Holy Trinity, Arundel (1380-1544)" appear in the May, 1949, issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*

An appreciation of A. F. Pollard, 1869-1948, by C. H. Williams appears in the May number of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research.*

The Irish-American Research Institute (20 Merrion Square, Dublin, Ireland) is an unofficial concern seeking to render scientific service to those who wish to trace relatives or genealogies in Ireland.

The Comité Français des Sciences Historiques (96 Boulevard Raspail, Paris VI^{e}) announces that the IXth Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Paris from August 27 to September 2, 1950. The sections will be as follows: anthropology and demography, history of ideas, economic history, social history, history of civilizations, political history, history of institutions. Under each section, ancient, mediaeval, modern, and con-

temporary history will be treated. Morning sessions will be devoted to a discussion of printed reports concerning the work in the various sections. Formal papers will be presented in the afternoon. General surveys of the work accomplished and practical suggestions will be put before the congress on the last day of the meeting.

The registration fee will be 1000 French francs (500 francs for students). Scholars wishing to attend the meeting should notify the committee before March 1, 1950.

The Bavarian Benedictine Academy (Munich: Karlstr. 34) has resumed publication of *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige.* There are two articles by Carl Selmer of Hunter College in the 1947-1948 volume.

Corona sanctorum anni Benedictini: Menologium O.S.B. (Ramsgate, England: Monastery Press. Pp. xii, 158. $3.00) by Romanus Rios, O.S.B., is an unscholarly list of Benedictine saints according to the daily calendar with a few words of identification under each saint. In a Latin introduction it is indicated that saints of all orders based on the Benedictine rule are included. The remarks on Benedictinism in Spain are inexact. St. Leander, St. Braulio, St. Helladius, St. Eugene, St. Ildefonse, and Valerius of Bierzo appear as Benedictines. The heretical writing of Joachim of Fiore should have excluded him from the list of *beati.*

Professor F. Baethgen announces that the *Deutsches Archiv fuer Erforschung des Mittelalters,* interrupted during the war, will resume publication. It was the successor of the *Neues Archiv.* The publisher will be the Simons Verlag, Marburg an der Lahn. Books for review should be sent to Professor F. Baethgen, *Deutsches Archiv,* Pommersfelden, Bayern, U. S. Zone.

Antônio Soares Amóra, who teaches Portuguese literature at the University of São Paulo, Brazil, is the author of two solid monographs on mediaeval Portugal: *O nobiliário do Conde D. Pedro (Sua concepção da história e sua técnica narrativa)* and *El-Rei Dom Duarte e o 'Leal Conselheiro.'* Both were published by the University and appeared in 1948.

Eduardo Brazão is the author of *Apontamentos para a história das relações diplomáticas de Portugal com a China 1516-1753* (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1949). This is a study of the embassies of Tomé Pires, 1516-1524(?); Manuel de Saldanha, 1667-1670; Alexandre Metelo de Sousa e Meneses, 1725-1728; and Francisco de Assis Pacheco de Sampio, 1752-1753, to the Celestial Empire. The book is pre-eminently a collection of documents. Historians interested in the relations between Europe and the Far East will find it indispensable.

The second volume on India (1523-1543) of the series *Documentação para a história das missões do padroado português do oriente,* the work of António da Silva Rego, has just appeared (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1949). The first volume was published in 1947. There are a total of 111 documents. Six of them are reproduced from the *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental;* the others are transcriptions of original manuscripts or authentic copies in the Tôrre do Tombo Archive of Lisbon. The material collected by the author is revealing for the history of the Church in Goa, Chaúl, Cananore, Cochin, Ormuz, Malacca, and St. Thomas of Meliapor. Goa is a Portuguese archiepiscopal see and the burial place of St. Francis Xavier.

The University of Notre Dame has announced the following promotions in the Department of History: Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., head of the department, to the rank of professor; William O. Shanahan and Gerhardt B. Ladner to that of associate professor; John J. Hooker to that of assistant professor; and Richard Kilmer to that of instructor. Vincent De Santis has been appointed instructor in American history. Nicholas Amato, instructor, has become instructor in the Department of History in St. Bonaventure College, Olean, New York.

Miss Jane Herrick, who is a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the Catholic University of America, has been appointed an instructor in history at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland.

Ulrich Stephen Allers, who completed the work for his doctorate in history at the Catholic University of America, has been appointed an assistant professor at Georgetown University and will teach modern European history. He has been on the staff of St. John's College, Annapolis.

Documents: The First Three Voyages to Yucatan and New Spain, according to the Residencia of Hernan Cortes. Tr. by Robert S. Chamberlain (*University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies,* July, 1949).—Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 concerning the Native Culture of the California Mission Indians. (Ed.) Maynard Geiger (*Americas,* Apr.).—Tratado de paz y amistad celebrado por España con la Republica Mexicana en 1836. (*Boletín chihuahuense de estudios históricos,* June, 1949).

BRIEF NOTICES

ANSON, PETER F. *The Church and the Sailor.* (London: John Gifford, Ltd. 1948. Pp. xiv, 245. 7/6.)

As one of the founders of the Apostleship of the Sea, Peter Anson writes with intense interest and enthusiasm of the Church and the sea. With a rich background of experience he is able not only to give the cold historical facts of the Church's relationship with men of the sea, but also the living intimate details of the work of the sea apostolate. He outlines the early association of the Church with the sea, how Christ first began His ministry with fishermen, and how almost all of the early saints were seafarers. He cites instances of the worship of God at sea, and examples of the Church's interest in seamen long before the actual establishment of the Apostleship of the Sea in the middle of the nineteenth century. His history of the apostolate itself is complete up to the present. He is particularly interested, of course, in its work on the continent where the movement began, and of the various seamen's clubs, centers, and institutes to be found there. But he does give a chapter to its work in America, citing the Catholic Maritime Club of Brooklyn, New York, as one of the finest equipped centers of the sea apostolate in the world. His chapter on naval chaplains is necessarily brief and limited to the English navy. (HENRY J. ROTRIGE)

CAVE, C. J. P. *Roof Bosses in Medieval Churches: An Aspect of Gothic Sculpture.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. viii, 235. $9.50.)

Throwing the twentieth century spotlight and telescopic lens into the shadowed roof vaults of mediaeval churches, Mr. Cave has brought into focus the long slumbering carvings wrought there some eight or nine hundred years ago. Fired by this opportunity to study sculptures of the Middle Ages, which because of their lofty and sheltered perch have survived, in original form, undamaged by weather and beyond the reach of man's vandalism, carelessness, or often equally destructive restoration, the author's imagination has sustained him during the collection of more than 7,000 photographs of roof boss carvings. From these he has selected 368 for reproduction, together with brief text, tracing the development of this particular architectural ornament and a description of the several classifications of subject matter which the carvers employed.

Mr. Cave defines roof boss carving as the decoration of the great keystone which occurs at the apex of the vaulting where the ribs intersect. The text suggests numerous topics which might become springboards for further work, though it is a rather dry set of notes in its present form.

But through the illustrations the reader will be struck by new evidence that Gothic artists built to gratify eyes in heaven as well as those on earth. Despite the artist's knowledge that his work in these high vaults would be invisible to the eyes of men, the sincerity, skill, and care exercised to render

each subject faithfully, and with the dramatic force characteristic of Gothic sculpture, are no less precise than in the work of fellow artists at eye level in the porches.

The camera has revealed an eloquent lesson of faith and integrity left to us by patient artists but obscured for so many years. Mr. Cave has earned our gratitude for uncovering this lesson in our time, when absorption in many matters of seeming importance tends to overshadow simple virtues. Well may we ask whether such unexpected scrutiny of our work, hundreds of years hence would find us equally prepared. (THOMAS H. LOCRAFT)

CLARISSA, MOTHER MARY, AND SISTER MARY OLIVIA, *With the Poverello. History of the Sisters of Saint Francis, Oldenburg, Indiana.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons, 1948. Pp. xii, 333.)

The congregation of the Sisters of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis was founded by Father Francis Joseph Rudolf, the Alsatian pastor of the German Catholic parish-town of Oldenburg in southeastern Indiana. In 1851 in response to his request, Mother Theresa, a young religious of the Convent of the Sisters of St. Francis of Vienna, arrived unaccompanied in Oldenburg and undertook the direction of three postulants who had gathered there. The primary purpose of the community was to provide teachers for the schools of the German immigrants and it began its work in the Whitewater Valley of Indiana. Its constitutions were given final papal approval in 1899. In the course of steady development and adaptation the congregation extended its activities to a number of states including Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, Kansas, Missouri, and New Mexico; it entered the field of secondary education, successfully conducting academies, high schools, and a liberal arts college; it assisted in founding other congregations; it took charge of orphanages and more recently began social case work; it provided teachers for Negro schools and for the mission of the Crow Indians in Montana; it even accepted a mission in China. It has well over 800 members today.

As the title of the book indicates, the historians in telling these events, correlate the work of the community with the ideals of St. Francis of Assisi. These are frequently emphasied and divisions of the chapters are headed by quotations from his writings. The narrative is set to a rapid tempo as it covers almost a full century. In some cases the writers were handicapped by a lack of documentary material, especially for the early years, and consequently, several details are obscure. Nevertheless a certain balance was maintained and the book is almost equally divided by the year 1900. The account of the community contains information about convent customs and routine, the description of outstanding personalities, and the narration of anecdotes and picturesque events. Although the motherhouse has been somewhat identified with an old world environment, the congregation has been very progressive in its educational methods practically from its earliest days. The history of the Franciscan schools, including material on academic life, the curricula and teacher development, constitutes a valuable feature of the work which is of general interest. A list of manuscript sources, chiefly local, is given in the bibliography and there is an index. (ROBERT GORMAN)

CLARK, WILLIAM BELL. *Captain Dauntless. The Story of Nicholas Biddle of the Continental Navy.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 317. $4.50.)

Mr. Clark is an able naval historian. Here he has fashioned a formidable amount of painstaking research into a book that gives all that is known of Nicholas Biddle. From the age of fourteen until his death at twenty-seven, Nicholas Biddle was a seaman. One of the most competent commanders of the Continental Navy, he worried the British fleet and amassed prize money until he and his ship the *Randolph* ended their careers together in 1778 in an unequal engagement with the heavier and better armed *Yarmouth.*

For reasons beyond the author's control *Captain Dauntless* is not first-rate biography. Biddle's life, like that of many military figures, had only one flash of significance for the historian and of great interest for the general reader. The better part of a captain's life is spent waiting and preparing, "murdering" his time—as Biddle put it—, chafing at inactivity. Further, the material available to the biographer is fragmentary and generally unrevealing. For example, of Biddle's doings between 1767 and 1770, we know nothing except that he bought salad dressing, wine, punch, and beer on May 10, 1769. Nicholas Biddle does not come to life in the pages of this book. We see him chiefly through ships' logs and other equally terse and non-committal official documents. Such sources record the actions of Captain Biddle in uniform and on duty. Unlike sources such as diaries and personal correspondence they give no glimpse of the man with his shoes off. They reveal little of what he thought and how he felt.

Nothwithstanding these defects Mr. Clark's book is a definite contribution to American naval history. It will have a place in the library of any specialist in this field. (WILLIAM B. PRENDERGAST)

DAWSON, CHRISTOPHER. *Religion and Culture.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1948. Pp. v, 225. $3.50.)

This book contains the Gifford Lectures delivered by Christopher Dawson in the University of Edinburgh in 1947. It is filled with the profound learning and brilliance which we have come to expect in anything this distinguished scholar presents. He develops at considerable length his thesis that every culturally vital society must have a religion. This religion, whether explicit or disguised, will determine to a large extent the cultural form of the particular society of which it is part. This spiritual dynamic, which is essential to every living culture, provides the energy required for the sustained social effort which is civilization.

The collaboration of religion and culture has been the normal condition of human society from the beginning of history. Today's world has arrived at the unique position of having achieved a oneness in its physical makeup. But, unfortunately, the great world religions "have lost their organic relation to society which was expressed in the traditional synthesis of religion and culture in East and West alike" (p. 214). The new culture is scientific and is devoid of all positive spiritual content. It is a complex of techniques

and specialisms lacking a guiding aim, a basis of common moral values, a unifying spiritual aim. This dereligionized culture is no culture at all in the traditonal sense of the term which connotes an order "integrating every side of human life in a living spiritual community" (p. 215).

Mr. Dawson believes that the existing dichotomy between religion and culture is responsible for the acute spiritual conflict we face now. It can be healed only by recovery of moral control and by return to spiritual order, the indispensable conditions of human survival. It seems too bad that the author failed to indicate the power of Catholicism to provide the recovery and return. This might easily have been done without destroying the objectivity of the work or of gaining for its author the accusation of special pleading. (BRADFORD COLTON)

DONNELLY, JOSEPH P., S.J. *The Parish of the Holy Family, Cahokia, Illinois, 1699-1949.* (East St. Louis: Cahokia 250th Anniversary Celebration Association, 422 St. Louis Avenue. 1949. Pp. 62. $1.00.)

The 250th anniversary of the little town of Cahokia, Illinois, celebrated with a pontifical Mass by Cardinal Stritch last May 15, was of equal historicity for the parish of the Holy Family. From the moment the first pastor stepped ashore from a Mississisippi River boat—and before—the joys and sorrows of this former frontier outpost of Catholicism are chronicled down to the present year. To the first missionary from the community of the Seminary of Quebec, M. St. Cosme, thirty-eight successors have come. Already the third longest in service is the present pastor, Father Joseph H. Mueller. Not only is the priestly roster long, but diocesan or religious affiliation has encompassed a wide range.

Established sixty-five years before Laclede and Chouteau landed at the site of St. Louis across the Mississippi, Holy Family Parish would be expected to have meagre written records. Moreover, several times turbulent flood waters of the nation's mightiest river have invaded the town, as in 1843 when the Sisters of St. Joseph were driven from the "Abbey" parochial school. Yet of every pastorate Father Donnelly has managed to unearth an interesting tid-bit to present the true picture of the Cahokia parish through the centuries. Counterbalancing the mechanical defect of misspelling are the quotations, remarkably well selected and interpreted. (PETER J. RAHILL)

HARTT, FREDERICK. *Florentine Art Under Fire.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1949. Pp. ix. 147. $5.00.)

This is the story of the fate of Tuscan art under the impact of modern war. Some destruction was inevitable but much of the actual damage and destruction was of no military value while the German plan to steal most of the movable art was atrocious. The Italian authorities made great efforts to protect their country's heritage and the Allies shared their concern. For this reason the allied military staffs were given monuments, fine arts, and archives officers. The author held that post in Tuscany. We are grateful

that he did because he brought competence and love to his task and to this account of it. Armed with exhaustive catalogues these officers had to protect what was intact, to repair what was damaged, to recover what was removed. The lover of Tuscany will welcome the appendices of intact monuments and damaged ones.

The narrative is a very personal one. We are able to travel with this MFAA officer in Lucky 13, his faithful jeep, not only around Florence but to the regions of Siena, Pisa, and Arezzo. The treasure-hunt for stolen pieces brings us as far north as Meran. We hear the vivid account of the destruction of the bridges of Florence. We see the incredible restoration of a fresco of Filippino Lippi in Prato after it had been smashed into thousands of pieces. Now it is Arthur Berenson who is found and rescued, now the noble trees at the Sacro Eremo of Camalduli are saved, sad remnant of the historic forest. The story of the recovery of the stolen masterpieces and their return to Florence brings the book to an eloquent close. Incidentally Baedeker's Austria-Hungary would have given the location of Sand, indicated through ecclesiastical channels as the place where much of the stolen treasure was but which presented a mystery to the search party until they found themselves there in the renamed village of Campo Tures. (JOSEPH M. EGAN)

HUGHES, PHILIP. *A Popular History of the Catholic Church.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. xii, 294. $3.50.)

This condensation of the entire field of the history of the Church into less than 300 pages is very creditably done. The work throughout betrays a master in ecclesiastical history—one who has the ability to view the entire panorama in one comprehensive sweep. This outline history is very well and interestingly written. The criticism of a reviewer must necessarily be limited to that of selection and emphasis. The author's summary on the Roman emperors and on the early persecution of Christians (pp. 20-21) certainly will meet with criticism. Photius and his schism, too, receive a somewhat different treatment (pp. 96-98). In the modern era the American scene is given scant attention. At times comparative minor details are given major attention, whereas, more important events—in the judgment of this reviewer—are passed over almost completely. A slight over-emphasis of British and Irish affairs can be excused in a history written for English readers. Many points of balance and emphasis could be indicated, but to no purpose. Every historian will necessarily be influenced by his own subjective judgment as to the importance and non-importance of historical events. Brevity, as will readily be surmised, is responsible for occasional instances of obscurity in this work.

Just how clear and satisfactory an impression will be received by the uninitiated, it is difficult to say. To one unacquainted with the field of Church history the reviewer feels that much will be left unanswered. To those who have done scattered reading and desultory study in this field this compendium will serve as an excellent synthesis. It would never do as a textbook unless supplemented by copious notes on the part of the professor.

The format of the book leaves much to be desired. The chapters are too lengthy. The use of bold-face type at strategic spots would help greatly to relieve the impression of monotony given by the book. These and other little devices would also work towards greater clarity in presentation. On the other hand, the literary style is attractive and conducive to pleasant reading.

This volume contains no maps, no cuts or illustrations. It does, however, have some excellent chronological tables. The index, too, is satisfactory.

(PAUL J. KNAPKE)

KILGER, LAURENZ, O.S.B., *Die Mission in Peru um 1600 nach der Bilderchronik des Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.* [Schriftenreihe der neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. VI] (Schöneck/Beckenried: Administration der neuen Zeitschrift für Missions-wissenschaft. 1948. Pp. 51. frs. Suisses 3.)

This is a brief study of the condition of the Church in Peru as manifested in the *Corónica* of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, the Peruvian Indian. The brochure is well illustrated with twelve reproductions of drawings from the original work and supplies some interesting information concerning the clergy, the Christian Indians and Negroes then in Peru, their customs, arts, and industries. The value of the study, however, is weakened by the fact that the author seems to have overlooked the point that Poma's work is not only a historical record but also a more or less confused mass of admonitions, exhorting the Indians how they should act. Illustration seven is certainly an exhortation and does not of necessity illustrate a historical fact (p. 45). At the same time, it might have proved helpful to the author had he used Posnansky's edition of Poma's work, since that edition furnishes not only a translation of the Quechua phrases found in the original, but also at times a better rendition of the original Spanish. Thus Posnansky states that *viczarayco* means "pertaining to the stomach," and not vicar as the author conjectures (p. 8). Also, it might be noted that Poma visited only a part of what is today Peru and hence he could picture the condition of the Church in only a small part of what was then the territory of that name.

(ANTONINE S. TIBESAR)

KLEIST, JAMES A., S.J., (Trans. and ed.) *The Didache. The Epistle of Barnabas. The Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp. The Fragments of Papias. The Epistle to Diognetus.* [Ancient Christian Writers, Series No. 6.] (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1948. Pp. vi, 235. $2.75.)

Father Kleist's known competence is fully borne out in this volume, the second he prepared for the Ancient Christian Writers Series. The text, in which fidelity to the meaning of the original vies with felicitous fluency of rendition, will be accepted on all sides as a standard English translation. The introduction to each translation and the notes gathered as a whole after all the translation give the results of the sanest and most recent critical investigations along with Father Kleist's own solid views.

The *Didache* and the eucharistic question to which it gives rise are

treated most completely. Father Kleist has a warm-hearted defense for the author of Pseudo-Barnabas. Following Harrison, he has St. Paul writing two epistles to the Philippians. He has the feeling that the *Epistle to Diognetus* is Quadratus' lost *Apology*. One could wish, perhaps, for a fuller discussion of the Jewish problem in Pseudo-Barnabas or in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and of the literary value of the *Epistle to Diognetus*. Opposition to the Jews on dogmatic and religious grounds is not an "anti-Semitic bias" (p. 6). (ROBERT WILDE)

LONYAY, COUNT CARL. *Rudolph. The Tragedy of Mayerling.* (New York: Charles Schribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xviii, 244. $5.00.)

The jacket and author's preface of this volume convey the impression that it contains new and important material about the tragic death of Crown Prince Rudolph and that it will be of interest to historians wanting an unbiased presentation. In reality all documents and letters of any real importance in Lonyay's book have been published years ago. To cite a few examples: the letter of the crown prince to King Louis of Bavaria (p. 51 ff) was published by O. Mitis in 1928 in his biography of Rudolph (p. 198 ff); Rudolph's letter to Latour (p. 64 ff) appeared in Mitis (p. 205 ff); the report of the prince about his visit to Bismarck (p. 94 ff) was given by Mitis (p. 212 ff), as was likewise true of the report of Count Hoyos on the death of the crown prince (Lonyay, p. 167 ff.) which Mitis carried on pages 275 ff. of his biography. Further duplications are the telegram of the emperor to Leo XIII (Lonyay, p. 180 and Mitis, p. 150); the post-mortem certificate of the doctors about the death of Rudolph (Lonyay, p. 201 ff.; Mitis, p. 152), and a will of the crown prince of 1879 (Lonyay, p. 40 ff.; Mitis, p. 200 ff.). Lonyay gives as a source for all these documents the Vienna Archives of the Imperial House (H.H. St. A), but he does not mention that they were published years ago by Mitis. The letters of the crown prince to Julius Szeps, quoted by Lonyay on pages 85, 86, 87-88, and 114, were published by Szeps himself in 1922. Princess Stephanie Lonyay; widow of the crown prince, published in 1935 a book entitled, *I Was To Be an Empress*, wherein there appeared all the letters from Rudolph to his wife quoted by Lonyay and all the extensive passages of her diary which are printed in Lonyay's volume. In Princess Stephanie's work we also find the photostatic copy of the last letter of the crown prince to his wife. Lonyay also gives a photostatic copy of this letter, but he mentions as a source of the text the Oroszvár Castle Archives and as a source of the photostat, "family files." Likewise many photographs in Lonyay's book for which "family files" are indicated as the source appeared long ago in various books. The last will of the crown prince (Lonyay, pp. 198-200), of which the Oroszvár Castle Archives are again cited as the source, can likewise be found in Princess Stephanie's volume, pp. 216-218. The long report of Police Superintendent Habrda (p. 188 ff.), for which Lonyay indicates the Ellischau Castle Archives, was published in 1922 by Arthur Skedl. The Slatin Report (p. 186 ff.) also appeared in 1931 in a Vienna newspaper. There are numerous quotations given from Victor Bibl's *Kronprinz Rudolf*,

which came out after Austria's occupation by the Nazis and naturally was full of animosity and hatred against the House of Hapsburg.

If reprinting of published material as done by Lonyay deprives a book of real value to historians, other assertions lower it still more. The author's statements that Don Carlos was murdered (p. 21) and what he suggests about Wallenstein's assassination (p. 181) are as lacking in historical foundation as the picture given of the war of 1859 (p. 6). Lonyay's remark that Count Taaffe was a "tertiarius of the Jesuits" (p. 82) and the way in which he speaks of religion (pp. 49-50) show a complete ignorance of Catholic doctrine and practice. His fanatical hatred of Emperor Francis Joseph and the Hapsburg house led him to paint distorted and calumniatory pictures. Those who know anything about the emperor's personality will soon grow disgusted with Lonyay's abusive remarks based on anonymous "court sources," on previous works of Lonyay himself (quoted more than twenty times), on doubtful sources like Countess Larisch and Victor Bibl—or on no sources at all. There are numerous testimonies about Francis Joseph by those who worked for years as his ministers and who knew him intimately. They show his noble, generous personality, entirely devoted to his people and to his duties. Such testimonies were written long after the emperor's death at a time when more courage was needed to bring out Francis Joseph's high qualities than to belittle him.

It was Francis Joseph who on July 8, 1910, bestowed the title of Hungarian counts upon a branch of the Lonyay family, and with them also upon the author of this book who was then twenty-four years old. It was to that same emperor that Carl Lonyay, like his father, had once sworn loyalty and allegiance as an officer in the emperor's army. From these facts, from the abusive language of the book, and from its deficiencies mentioned above, one may judge Lonyay for himself as a man and as an historian.

(Henry de Degenfeld-Schonburg)

Mathew, David. *Catholicism in England. The Portrait of a Minority: Its Culture and Tradition.* 2nd ed. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode. 1949. Pp. x, 295. 15s.)

This revision of Archbishop Mathew's masterly account of Catholic life in England which was first published in 1935, brings the narrative up to the present time. Two new chapters have been included, one about Cardinal Hinsley and the other a summary of Catholic life since the first publication of the book.

Dr. Mathew begins with the break with Rome and traces the influence of various movements, both at home and on the continent, on the Catholic group in England. The personalities involved are treated with a great measure of sympathy and understanding. The author has the happy faculty of selecting personal details which make each character live again. This wealth of minute details shows abundant and careful research. At no time is the main theme of the economic and social changes affecting the Catholic community lost sight of or buried in a mass of details. Clearly written and with a wonderful

juxtaposition of words and ideas, this volume not only gives a great deal of information but it is very readable.

Because of the complexities of the age, many phases of the problem must be treated briefly and without much elaboration. But the author always gives an adequate picture. The book fills a real need by giving in one small volume a complete story of the English Catholics after the schism. The bibliography is good and a fine index makes for easy reference.

(RICHARD S. MCMONIGAL)

MCCRACKEN, GEORGE E. (Trans. and ed.) *Arnobius of Sicca. The Case against the Pagans.* [Ancient Christian Writers Series No. 7.] Volume I. Introduction, Books One-Three. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1949. Pp. 372. $3.50.)

When Volume II of this work appears a long felt need will have been met. Arnobius of Sicca will have received his first recent English dress, and his only full-blown English and modern commentary. And it is a work well done. The introduction is all that this type of work demands and the limits of space allow. The life and date of Arnobius are discussed, his work is analyzed, and his Catholicity examined; his style receives due attention along with the problem of his sources. His influence is observed and a full account is given of the editions of his work. In addition to a wealth of pertinent and well-presented information, the notes contain a complete list of *Arnobiana.*

Every translation must be judged on the basis of the original. In light of Arnobius' Latin text, Dr. McCracken has done a forthright job of translation. The exigencies of rhetorical Latin at the beginning of the fourth century are responsible for the artificial cast of the work in translation. Students of early Christian literature will look forward to the second volume of this work. (ROBERT WILDE)

PAVLOVSKY, MICHEL N. *Chinese-Russian Relations.* Translated from the French by Mrs. R. Krader and edited by Mrs. T. Klorman. (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1949. Pp. viii, 194. $3.75.)

Michel N. Pavlovsky of Aurora University of Shanghai has written a compact summary of the relations between China and Russia for the period from the second half of the seventeenth century to 1936. An effort is made to explain the phenomenon in connection with the treaties of Nerschinsk (1689) and that of Kiakhta (1727), which remained in force for nearly two centuries. There is pointed out a change in principles following the Chinese Revolution of 1911 in the attempted autonomy of Outer Mongolia, and again after the Russian Revolution which fostered the Pan-Mongolian States and the Ungern-Sternberg interlude.

Twenty-eight pages are devoted to a thought-provoking study of the Jesuits in early Sino-Russian relations. A plausible explanation is given for the change from Mongol to Latin as the diplomatic language at the time of the

Spathari Embassy (1675). Spathari was a Greek, who had been a Latin and Greek translator in the Russian ambassadorial chancery. Father Verbiest became the interpreter for Spathari in Peking. Verbiest's famed letter to the tsar is shown to be nothing more than a testimonial in Spathari's favor. It was written because such a letter was deemed necessary and could not be obtained from the Chinese court. It is evident from Father Gerbillon's diary that the Jesuits had some role in the Treaty of Nerchinsk. The interpreters of that diary have exaggerated the part played by the Jesuits. It is very questionable whether they had any influence in the framing of the various points of the treaty. Both Chinese and Russian delegates had previous instructions which indicate there was virtual agreement before the conference. The Jesuits were the intermediaries between the delegations. They were neither translators nor political advisers. They did not inspire political action. Their great contribution was the brushing aside of political obstacles which arose and which otherwise might have prevented any agreement.

(JOSEPH P. RYAN)

POTTER, DAVID M., and THOMAS G. MANNING. *Nationalism and Sectionalism in America, 1775-1877. Select Problems in Historical Interpretation.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1949. Pp. xiv, 362. $2.75.)

The co-authors, members of the Department of History of Yale University, have written a textbook which they believe will help the more advanced student attain specific objectives not found elsewhere in standard works. The twelve problems studied reflect literary, political, social, cultural, and legal aspects of American history. Each is studied through questions tending to develop the students' initiative through interpretation that is derived from the historical background presented and the supplementary source materials included. The documents concerned are from correspondence, papers, deed, literature, and historical developments. The mature student is further entranced by the methods which permit him to analyze the factors involved, investigate the complex nature of the issues, and become acquainted with the several possible solutions. In studying the forces present and the questions that deal with them there is a tendency to indicate particular cases in order to formulate a definite, deep, and clear understanding. For that particular study, the idea of nationalism is gained from Mr. Kohn's volume of the same title, while sectionalism as a source of comparison is less clearly defined for the student.

This useful presentation introduces a phase of the learning process that tends to co-ordinate two themes by a method which concentrates the scholar's effort and yet gives him a springboard to further research by examining the adequate bibliography found in the notes at the end of the book.

(GILBERT C. SNOW)

ROSE, ARNOLD and ROSE, CAROLINE. *America Divided: Minority Group Relations in the United States.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. xi, 342, ix. $4.00. net; $3.00 text.)

During recent years social scientists have devoted a good deal of time and attention to the study of intergroup relations in the United States, particularly to those relations which affect such minorities as Negroes, Jews, Orientals, and various other groups which have suffered from the prejudice of the majority. Dr. and Mrs. Rose have attempted to summarize the scientific literature on this subject and make it comprehensible "to the average reader or undergraduate student." For the most part their effort has been successful. Both authors have graduate degrees in sociology from the University of Chicago and both co-operated on the famous Myrdal study of the American Negro. The greater part of the book is competent, well-balanced, and illuminating.

A feature which distinguishes this book from most of the other literature in the field is the fact that it includes the Catholics in the United States as a minority group. It is unfortunate that the authors were poorly equipped to treat this subject. In a bibliography of over thirteen pages there were two books by Catholics on the Negro and on the Negro and immigrant respectively, but the reviewer noted only one reference devoted entirely to the status of Catholics in the United States and that was McGuire's *Catholic Builders of the Nation,* outdated and popular in nature.

The authors' ignorance of the Catholic Church and its doctrines is reflected in many surprising statements. Here are a few: "And so Negroes are flocking into the Catholic Church. Most of them join for good, rational, secular reasons" (p. 56). "Catholics find all Protestants guilty of various types of sin" (p. 57). "The Catholic Church comes out boldly to say that all divorced persons who remarry —some 20 per cent of all Americans—are living in adultery" (p. 57). (Not "all"; the first marriage might have been invalid or the spouse might be dead!) The Catholic Church "says that all persons who use any method of preventing conception other than by refraining from sex are murderers" (pp. 57-58). (How can one murder a child which does not exist?) "The Catholic Church does not recognize any difference between church and state" (p. 58). "The Catholic Church admits that its position is totalitarian" (p. 59). The Catholic Church "has, therefore, sought to influence legislation in order to protect Catholics from majority group ways" (p. 144). The authors have this to say about teaching in Catholic schools: "In biology, certain information—such as that dealing with the origin and development of life—is either kept from [the pulpit] or taught to be erroneous" (p. 230).

The authors feel that prejudice against Catholics had almost died out by the middle 1930's, but that it is now rising and may become very serious in the future. If this be the case, authors like Dr. and Mrs. Rose who make such loose statements as those quoted above must bear some of the responsibility. (PAUL HANLY FURFEY)

SPRING, AGNES WRIGHT. *The Cheyenne and Black Hills Stage and Express Routes.* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1949. Pp. 418. $7.50.)

This latest volume in the American Trail Series retells the story of one of the great gold rushes in western history—that to the Black Hills of South

Dakota in 1876 and the following decade. The difficulties surmounted by the men who provided stage transportation of mail, express, and passengers between Cheyenne and Deadwood during those years and after are here described in a competent if popular fashion by the former state librarian and state historian of Wyoming.

Man-made obstacles confronting the stage lines arose for the most part from two sources, the Indian and the outlaw. By reason of the treaty of 1868, the Sioux were pocketed in the Black Hills and part of eastern Wyoming Territory. The discovery of gold there in 1874 brought more than a sprinkling of white men, and the Indians gave active resistance until the climactic Battle of the Little Big Horn in June, 1876. The following year the hills were opened by act of Congress, and a flood of fortune-seekers poured through Cheyenne to Lead City and Deadwood. Troubles for the stage line were not ended, however, with the gradual settling of the Indian problem. The heyday of the road agent followed to threaten the passengers and cargo of the stages for many years.

Mrs. Spring has used the best available published material, as her bibliography indicates, and has also managed to lay hands on a great deal of unpublished material in the form of office records, diaries, and various reports. Interviews with pioneer eyewitnesses are employed sparingly. She has made intelligent use of contemporary newspaper accounts. The footnoting is somewhat haphazard, but the book as a whole will be a valuable addition to any collection on the history of the West. (EDWARD A. BREEN)

THORNDIKE, LYNN. *The Sphere of Sacrobosco and Its Commentators.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. x, 496. $10.00.)

This book contains the *Tractatus de Sphera* of Iohannes de Sacrobosco, the best and most used text in astronomy and cosmography from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century; an English translation of the same; the Latin text, published now for the first time, and English translation of the commentary of Robertus Anglicus on the *Sphere;* the Latin commentaries, one attributed to Michael Scot and the other by Cecco d'Ascoli, on the *Sphere;* the first printing of anonymous marginal glosses and comments which accompany the *Sphere* in two of the earlier manuscripts; an appendix wherein are given brief extracts from other thus far unpublished thirteenth-century treatises on the sphere of the universe and commentaries on the *Sphere* of Sacrobosco; and selected pages of an anonymous commentary, occurring in MS Vatican Latin 4082, examined too late to be discussed in the introduction to this work. The editor gives a brief account of the life and writings of Iohannes de Sacrobosco, who seems to have spent his entire teaching career at the University of Paris and to have died there. The customary designation of England as his place of origin is not certain. His chief, and perhaps only, extant works are elementary texts on mathematics and astronomy. The *Sphere* is shown to date probably from the very early thirteenth century. In his discussion of the sources, Professor Thorndike demonstrates that Sacrobosco was not, as Sarton and some of the mediaeval commentators had held, merely a slavish compiler from Alfraganus and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; furthermore, he shows that much of the *Sphere* was apparently derived from Macrobius—

something not perceived by the mediaeval commentators or by modern historians of science. The scholarly introduction also discusses a large number of commentaries on the *Sphere* and the use of the *Sphere* as a required text in the universities, with an interesting excursus on the length of lectures in the mediaeval universities and a treatment of mediaeval Latin commentaries in general and those of Scot, Robert, and Cecco on the *Sphere* in particular. Professor Thorndike explains his method of editing and describes the eighteen manuscripts used for this volume. The several editions are provided with good critical apparatus and the English translations are excellent. The threefold index—general, of manuscripts, and of *incipits*—is satisfactory.

(ANSELM BIGGS)

TILGHMAN, ZOE A., *Marshal of the Last Frontier. Life and Services of William Matthew (Bill) Tilghman, for 50 years one of the greatest peace officers of the West.* (Glendale, California: Arthur Clark Co. 1949. Pp. 406. $7.50.)

Bill Tilghman (1854-1924) is described by William McLeod Raine as, perhaps, the greatest of the frontier sheriffs. (*Famous Sheriffs and Western Outlaws,* Pp. 12, 201.) This present volume by the peace officer's second wife (1904), the author also of *Outlaw Days,* (1926), is the only complete account of his life. In a very interesting style she recounts the adventures of her famous husband as buffalo hunter, cow-town marshal of Dodge City, deputy United States marshal in young Oklahoma, and chief of police in Oklahoma City. And her narrative in many places is as revealing as it is interesting. Thus the notorious outlaw leader, Bill Doolin, was captured by Tilghman at Eureka Springs, Arkansas, where he was seeking to cure his rheumatism. The outlaw bands were rather short-lived: the Doolins some eight years, the Daltons fifteen months, and the Jennings only four months. The people of Guthrie, Oklahoma, held an informal reception for Doolin on the occasion of his capture. Politics and the spoils system controlled even the appointment of frontier marshals of the federal government.

This third volume of the Western Frontiersmen Series will most probably not be adjudged a work of historical scholarship. The sources of the author are rather limited, the memoirs of her husband, her own memory, and the memory of old friends. Accordingly, there is a tendency to eulogize, to exaggerate as, for example, when we are told that young Bill brought down twenty-one ducks with one shot (p. 65). All in all, however, the work is a definite contribution to the field of history. And further, those who with the reviewer will confess a penchant for western movies of the historical variety, undignified as it might be, will enjoy using this book as a check on some of Hollywood's current releases. (TIMOTHY J. CASEY)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Official History: Its Pitfalls and Its Criteria. Herbert Butterfield *(Studies,* June).

Contemporary Orientations of Catholic Thought on Church and State in the Light of History. John Courtney Murray *(Theological Studies,* June).

Das Problem des Geschichtlichen im Leben der Kirche. Karl Adam *(Theologische Quartalschrift,* 1948, No. 3).

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The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley. Harold and Ernestine Briggs (*Mid-America*, July).

Literary Travellers in Louisiana between 1803 and 1860. Florence Roos Brink (*Louisiana Histor. Quart.*, Apr.).

The Yakima Campaign of 1856. William N. Bischoff *(ibid.)*.

Who Wrote the Allison Letters: A Study in Historical Detection. Joseph G. Rayback (*Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 1).

The Church-State Problem in Utah. Robert F. Drinan (*America*, July 2).

Origins of Catholic Social Reform in the United States. Aaron I. Abell (*Rev. of Politics*, July).

"Americanism": Fifty Years After. James M. Gillis (*Catholic World*, Aug.).

A Half-Century of American Foreign Policy: Our Stake in Europe, 1898-1948. Edward Mead Earle (*Political Science Quarterly*, June).

From Baroque to Neo-Baroque in the Church Architecture of Quebec. Alan Gowans (*Culture*, Vol. X, No. 2).

Diego Pena's Expedition to Apalachee and Apalachicola in 1716. Mark F. Boyd (*Florida Hist. Quart.*, July, 1949).

The Evolution of Weights and Measures in New Spain. Manual Carrera Stampa. (*Hispanic American Histor. Rev.*, Feb.).

Supply and Transportation for the Potosi Mines, 1545-1640. Gwendolin B. Cobb *(ibid.)*.

The Delayed Cession of Spanish Santo Domingo to France, 1795-1801. Wendell G. Schaeffer *(ibid.)*.

Economic and Social Aspects of the Era of Spanish-American Independence. Charles C. Griffin *(ibid.*, May).

Thirty Years of the Hispanic American Historical Review. Lesley Byrd Simpson *(ibid.)*.

Reflections on Traditionalism in the Historiography of Hispanic America. Howard Cline *(ibid.)*.

Jorge Basadre and Peruvian Historiography. Watt Stewart *(ibid.)*.

Spanish-American Slave Trade in the Great Basin, 1800-1853. Leland Hargrave Creer (*New Mexico Histor. Rev.*, July).

New Mexico in Transition. Arnold L. Rodriguez *(ibid.)*.

Cartas y noticias del V. P. Junipero Serra. Andrés de Palma (*Estudios Franciscanos*, May).

Articles on Juan de Zumárraga. Various authors (*Americas*, Jan.).

The French in Sixteenth-Century Brazil. Charles E. Nowell (*ibid.*, Apr.).

Origin of the Franciscan Order in Colombia. Gregorio Arcila Robledo *(ibid.)*.

Father Marquette's Place in American History. Francis Borgia Steck *(ibid.)*.

The Indian Policy of Portugal in America, with Special Reference to the Old State of Maranhão, 1500-1755. Mathias C. Kiemen *(ibid.)*.

Writings on United States Catholic History: 1948. Thomas F. O'Connor *(ibid.)*.

Gregorio XVI y la emancipación de la América Española. Pedro de Leturia (*Revista de historia de America*, No. 26, 1948).

The Role of Guadalupe Victoria in Mexican Foreign Relations. C. Harvey Gardiner *(ibid.)*.

John Lloyd Stephens y su libro extraordinario. Rafael Heliodoro Valle *(ibid.)*.

Los dominicos en la Nueva Espana *(cont.)*. Isidro Postigo (*Boletín chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, June, 1949).

BOOKS RECEIVED

Adams, Henry. *The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma.* With an introduction by Brooks Adams. (New York: Peter Smith, 1949. Pp. xiii, 317. $3.50.) Peter Smith has brought out a reprint of this work which was published originally in 1919 by Macmillan. It contains the famous "Letter to American Leaders of History."

Benns, F. Lee. *Europe Since 1914 in Its World Setting.* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. Pp. xx, 770, 103. $5.00.) This is the seventh edition of the popular textbook which appeared originally in 1930.

Bonsirven, Joseph, S.J. *Le divorce dans le Nouveau Testament.* (Belgium, 1948. Pp. 91.)

Brown, Sister Mary Borromeo. *The History of the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary of the Woods,* Volume I. (New York: Benziger Bros., 1949. Pp. xiii, 826. $6.00.)

Buitron, Juan B., *Apuntes para servir a la historia del Arzobispado de Morelia.* (Mexico, D. F.: Imprenta Aldina.-Rosell y Sordo Noriega, S.R.L. 1949. Pp. 344. $15.00, Mexican.)

Bujila, Bernadine A. (Ed.). *Rutebeuf: La vie de Sainte Marie l'Egyptienne.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1949. Pp. vii, 92. $1.75.) This is number 12 of the University of Michigan Contributions in Modern Philology.

Butler, J. R. M. *The Present Need for History.* (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1949. Pp. 39. 50c.) The text of the inaugural lecture of the regius professor of modern history in the University of Cambridge delivered on January 26, 1949.

Caldwell, Wallace Everett. *The Ancient World.* (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc. 1949. Pp. xvii, 589. $4.25.) This is a revised edition of a text which appeared originally in 1937. Mr. Caldwell is a professor of ancient history in the University of North Carolina.

Canadian Catholic Historical Association. Report of 1947-1948. (Hull, Quebec: Leclerc Printers. Pp. 15-159.)

Canedo, Lino Gomez, O.F.M. *Don Juan de Carvajal.* (Madrid: Instituto Jeronimo Zvrita, 1947. Pp. 372.)

Craven, Wesley Frank and James Len Cate (Eds.). *The Army Air Forces in World War II.* Volume II. *Europe: Torch to Pointblank. August 1942 to December 1943.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 897. $6.00.) This is the second of seven volumes planned on the history of the Air Force in the late war. The present work is equipped with maps, charts, and photographs which do much to enhance the clarity of the narrative description of the operations. The volume is the product of a number of collaborators who worked under the general editorship of Professors Craven and Cate.

Curti Merle and Vernon Rosco Carstensen. *The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925.* Volume II. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1949. Pp. x, 668. $10.00 per set; $6.00 per volume.)

Dubly, Henry Louis. *The Life of Cardinal Mercier, Primate in Belgium.* Translated by Herbert Wilson. (Cork: Mercier Press. N.D. Pp. 301. 9/6.) This volume won the Montyon Prize for literature by the French Academy when it first appeared.

Duhig, James (Most Rev. — Archbishop of Brisbane). *Crowded Years.* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1947. Pp. 138. 4s. 9d.)

Dutcher George Matthew *et al. A Guide to Historical Literature.* (New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xxviii, 1222. $12.50.) All students of history will welcome this reprint of the *Guide* which was brought out originally by Macmillan in 1931. Of course, a revised edition would have more welcome but in lieu of that it is good to know the volume is again on the market, although it is to be feared that the price may prove prohibitive to the very ones who would be the most likely purchasers, young instructors and graduate students.

Fitzpatrick, Mary C., and John J. Wellmuth, S.J. (Trans. and Eds.) *St. Thomas Aquinas on Spiritual Creatures. (De spiritualibus creaturis).* Translation from the Latin with an introduction. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1949. Pp. 135.) This is No. 5 of the Mediaeval Philosophical Texts in Translation of Marquette University.

Fowlie, Wallace. *Mallarme as Hamlet—A Study of Igitur.* (New York: Alicat Bookshop Press. 1949. Pp. 21. $1.00.)

Frankfort, H. *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 172. $3.00.)

Gandía, Enrique de. *Orígenes prearios del Pueblo Vasco.* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Vasca Ekin. 1949. Pp. 153. $3.00.)

Greenslade, S. L. *The Church and the Social Order.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. 128. $1.75.)

Hale, Joseph F. *The Pastor of Burial.* A dissertation of the School of Canon Law. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. x, 247. $2.00.)

Halevy, Elie. *England in 1815.* (New York: Peter Smith. 1949. Pp. xvi, 655. $6.00.)

Handbook of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791-1948. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1949. Pp. 182.)

Hayes, Richard. *Biographical Dictionary of Irishmen in France.* (Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son, Ltd. 1949. Pp. 332. 15/.)

Henning, Basil Duke *et al. Crises in English History, 1066-1945.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1949. Pp. xv, 571. $3.80.)

Holleran, Mary P. *Church and State in Guatemala.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 359. $4.75.)

Irujo, Manuel de. *Inglaterra y los Vascos.* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Vasca Elkin, S. R. L. 1945. Pp. 444. $7.00.)

James, Father, O.F.M Cap. *Where is Thy God?* (Cork: Mercier Press. 1948. Pp. 180. 10/6.) This is the third edition of a book that appeared twenty years ago.

Jones, A. H. M. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. xiv, 271. $2.00.)

Kephart, Calvin. *Herr Volcnant Von Erlack Minnesinger. Sponsor and Associate of Walter von der Vogel we de in Franconia and Thuringia.* (Strasburg, Virginia: Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc. 1949. Pp. 31.) A slightly revised and augmented reprint from an article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* XLII (April, 1943).

Kisch, Guido. *The Jews in Medieval Germany.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xv, 655. $7.50.)

Kreider, Harry J. *Beginnings of Lutheranism in New York.* (New York: United Lutheran Synod of New York. 1949. Pp. ix, 76. $1.00.)

Kwitchen, Sister Mary Augustine, O.S.F. *James Alphonsus McMaster. A Study in American Thought.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xiv, 230. $2.50.)

Lee, Alfred McClung and Elizabeth Briant Lee. *Social Problems in America: A Source Book.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1949. Pp. xxi, 741. $4.00.)

Lewis, C. S. *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. 66. $1.25.)

Manuel, Frank E. *The Realities of American-Palestine Relations.* (Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press. 1949. Pp. viii, 378. $5.00.)

Maynard, Theodore. *Henry the Eighth.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. viii, 431. $3.75.)

Meehan, Denis. *Window on Maynooth.* (Dublin: Clonmore & Reynolds. 1949. Pp. 182. 12/6.)

Miller, John, Jr. *U. S. Army in World War II.* (Washington, D. C.: Historical Division Department of Army. 1949. Pp. xvii, 413.)

Mindszenty. *Cardinal Mindszenty Speaks.* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1949. Pp. xi, 224. $2.50.)

Moreau, E. de, S.J. *Histoire de l'église en Belgique.* (l'Edition Universelle. 1949. Pp. 518.)

Murdock, Kenneth B. *Literature & Theology in Colonial New England.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1949. Pp. xi, 235. $4.00.)

McDermott, John Francis. (Ed.), *et al. Old Cahokia. A Narrative and Documents Illustrating the First Century of its History.* (St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation. 1949. Pp. 355.)

Newton, Earle. *The Vermont Story. A History of the People of the Green Mountain State, 1749-1949.* (Montpelier, Vermont: Vermont Historical Society. 1949. Pp. x, 282. $7.50.)

Nuyens, J. F. *Geschiedenis der Pausen.* (Eindhoven: N. V. Uitgevers-Maatschappiz, "De Pelgrim." 1949. Pp. 336.) This popular, well printed, and illustrated history of the popes in Dutch is not an improvement over the somewhat more detailed volume of Seppelt-Loeffler in German. It offers a few pages in an appendix on the missions in the various periods of history, gives a chronological and an alphabetical list of the popes, and a list of the encyclicals from Leo XIII to Pius XII. There is no index.

Nye, Russell B. *Fettered Freedom. Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy, 1803-1860.* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State College Press. 1949. Pp. xiii, 273. $4.00.)

Oberg, Kalervo. *The Terena and the Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil.* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1949. Pp. 72. $.60.)

O'Brien, John A. (Ed.) *The Road to Damascus. The Spiritual Pilgrimage of Fifteen Converts to Catholicism.* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1949. Pp. 248. $2.50.) Father O'Brien of the University of Notre Dame has performed a useful service in editing the interesting stories of fifteen recent converts to Catholicism who represent many walks of life.

Orcibal, Jean. *Louis XIV contre Innocent XI. Les appels au futur concile de 1688 et l'opinion française.* (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1949. Pp. 107.)

O'Shea, Denis. *Mary and Joseph: Their Lives and Times.* (Wisconsin: Bruce Publishing Co. 1949. Pp. xi, 404. $3.50.)

Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society at the Annual Meeting Held in Worcester, October 13, 1948. (Worcester: Published by the Society. 1949. Pp. 191-302, xxvi.) The society's annual business record is included here along with an edition of "Letters of the Reverend Thomas Warley of Barnstable to the Reverend John Cotton of Plymouth," by Walter Muir Whitehill and an article "Francisco López de Tómara and His Work," by Henry Raup Wagner.

Proceedings of the International Civil Aviation Conference. 2 vols. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1948-1949. Pp. xvi, 774; 775-1509.)

Ragatz, Lowell. *March of Empire. The European Possessions on the Eve of the First World War.* (New York: H. L. Lindquist, Publications. 1949. Pp. xi, 92. $3.50.)

Raymond, Rev. M., O.C.S.O. *Burnt Out Incense.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1949. Pp. xviii, 457. $3.50.)

Saunders, Daniel J., S.J. *Reason to Revelation.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1949. Pp. xvii, 241. $3.50.)

Schons, Dorothy. *Book Censorship in New Spain,* Book II. (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 45.)

Stirling, Brents. *The Populace in Shakespeare.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1949. Pp. 203. $3.00.)

Talbot, Francis Xavier, S.J. *Saint Among the Hurons. The Life of Jean de Brèbeuf.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1949. Pp. 351. $3.75.)

Trochu, Mgr. Francis. *Le Bienheureux Pierre-Julien Eymard. Fondateur de la Congrégation des prêtres et de celle des Servantes du T. S. Sacrement (1811-1868).* (Paris: Librairie Catholique Emmanuel Vitte. 1949. Pp. x, 501. 480 frs.)

United States Relations with China. Based on the files of the Department of State. (Washington: Department of State. 1949. Pp. xvii, 1054.)

Vagaggini, Jean, S.J., Translated by C. Cornelia Craigie. *The Riches of the Missal.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1949. Pp. iv, 319. $4.00.)

Wesley Frank Craven, James Lea Cate (Eds.). *The Army Air Forces in World War II:* Vol. II, *Europe: Torch to Pointblank, August 1942 to December 1943.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1949. Pp. xxi, 897. $6.00.)

Wilde, Robert. *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1949. Pp. xviii, 239. $2.75.) A new contribution to the University's Patristic Studies.